00141044

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-400 023.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 27 February, 2016

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM;

INCLUDING HIS

VOYAGES, TRAVELS, ADVENTURES, SPECULATIONS, SUCCESSES AND FAILURES,

FAITHFULLY AND FRANKLY NARRATED:

INTERSPERSED WITH

CHARACTERISTIC SKETCHES OF PUBLIC MEN

WITH WHOM HE HAS HAD INTERCOURSE,

DURING A PERIOD OF MORE THAN FIFTY YEARS.

WITH A PORTRAIT.

RC
1.VII.L

VOL. II.

16:044
2 07.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.
1855.

The Author of this Work notifies that he reserves the right of translating it.

923.942
Buc/Bue/Art
141044

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	Page
Voyage through the Straits of Scio to Smyrna - -	1
Becalmed off the Island of Mytelene or Lesbos - -	2
Lines to the Setting Moon, air—"Fly not yet" - -	3
Anchor in the Bay of Smyrna.—Splendid scene - -	4
First landing in Asiatic Turkey.—First impressions - -	5
European or Frank society.—Country residences - -	7
Anecdote of an English captain as conjuror - - -	9
Turkish governor and Greek coiner of money - -	11
Fascinations of the soirées of Madame Marracini - -	13
Lord Byron.—Mr. Hobhouse.—Mr. Cockerell and Mr. Forster	13
Mr. Fiott's adventurous journey across Asia Minor - -	14
Captain Beaufort's survey of Caramania - - -	15
Coup-de-soleil, and severe delirious fever - - -	16
Anecdote of Captain Hope, of the *Salsette* frigate - -	17
Voyage home and safe arrival - - - -	20

CHAP. II.

New phase of life.—Gaiety and pleasure in London - -	21
Appointed to command the *Scipio* for the Mediterranean -	22
First interest about India and its commercial monopoly -	22
Meeting at the Mansion-house on the Company's charter -	22
Alderman Waithman and Sir William Curtis - -	23
Leave London for Portsmouth.—Domestic calamity - -	28
Liberality of the ship's owners.—My wife and child join me -	29
Scene at Gibraltar.—Female patriotism and loyalty - -	30

Page
Sail for Malta.—Sudden gale and great danger - - 32
The lost thimble, a first misfortune in life - - - 33
Singular obstruction to the progress of the fleet - - 35
Immense swarm of locusts drowned in the sea - - 35
Islands of Zambro and Pantellaria.—Cape Bon - - 38
First sight of Sicily.—History and poetry of the island - 39

CHAP. III.

Stay at Malta and agreeable parties there - - - 41
Voyage through the Archipelago.—Attacked by Greek pirates 42
Obstinate conflict and ultimate victory.—Injury sustained - 45
Succeeding storm and danger of shipwreck - - - 54
Island of Santorin thrown up by submarine volcano - - 55
Crete or Candia, its history and associations - - - 55
Delos, the sacred island of the Greeks.—Awe of the Persian Fleet 57
Nicaria.—Singular custom of sponge divers - - - 58
Samos, its ancient celebrity and modern decay - - 59
Pythagoras and his doctrines.—Moore's classical odes - 60
Ancient traveller's description of Samos divers - - 61
Passage through the Straits of Scio to Smyrna - - 61
Plague raging in the city.—Villages happily free - - 62

CHAP. IV.

Agreeable stay at Smyrna, notwithstanding the plague - 64
Practical proofs of its non-contagious character - - 65
Visit of Mrs. Buckingham to the harem of the Governor - 67
Singular notions of Asiatics as to female beauty - - 68
Adventure on horseback, and narrow escape - - - 69
Friendly intercourse with Captain Hope of the *Salsette* - 71
Dramatic entertainment given on board the frigate - - 72
Anecdote of a seaman and the Wooden Horse of Troy - 74
Admiral Hope, his practical piety and benevolence - - 74
Arrival of Sir William Ouseley from Persia - - - 75
Mr. Price, the Oriental scholar.—Learned shoemakers - - 76
Excursion to Scio, the birthplace of Homer - - - 77
Beauty of the women and longevity of the men - - 79
Visit to Cheshmé, the Erythæan and Cumæan Sybil - - 80

CHAP. V.

Page
Sail from Smyrna with a companion, the *Hermes* - - 82
Terrific hail-storm, and loss of topmast on the African coast - 83
Repair of damages.—Anecdote of a refractory carpenter - 85
Arrival at Gibraltar.—First news of War with America - 86
Narrow escape from being wrecked on Cape Finisterre - 87
Arrival in the Thames.—Stangate Creek.—Quarantine - 89
Seamen prevented from hanging the carpenter at the yard-arm 90
Absurdity and inefficiency of the Laws of Quarantine - 91

CHAP. VI.

Elegant hospitalities and agreeable parties in England - 95
Anecdotes of a Don Cossack Chief from Russia - - 97
Mania of the English for notoriety.—Lady Cork's rout - 98
Resolution taken to resign the sea as a profession - - 101
Plan for settling at Malta as a shipowner and merchant - 101
Sail from London on this expedition.—Lines to the Moon - 102
Information of the plague raging at Malta - - - 106
Influence of fear on one of the passengers - - - 107
Terror of all parties on shore at the spread of the disease - 109
Currently received account of its origin and progress - 110

CHAP. VII.

Sail for Smyrna.—Leaving goods behind at Malta - - 115
Excursion to Clazomené, the city of Anaxagoras - - 116
Description of the ruins.—Causeway.—Theatre.—Acropolis - 117
Fate of Anaxagoras, for being a man before his time - - 119
Continued disastrous news of deaths and failures in Malta - 122
Loss of all my property there, and increased liabilities - 123
Second instance of pecuniary misfortune without fault - 123
Resolution to try new ground, by going to Egypt - - 123

CHAP. VIII.

Embark for Egypt in the schooner *Theodosia* - - - 125
Naval veteran commander's appearance and habits - - 125

Page
Watering at Vourla, and passage through the Archipelago - 126
Sight of Candia, and Mount Ida of the Cretan Jove - - 127
Anecdotes of grog-drinking by the points of compass - 127
First sight of the shores of Egypt.—Pompey's Pillar - - 129
Unfavourable impressions on landing at Alexandria - - 129
Agreeable state of society among the Europeans - - 130
Excursions during the day.—Marcotis, Aboukir, &c. - - 131
Singular Club, called "The Bucolicanic Association" - 132
Anniversary celebrated in the gardens of Alexandria - 132
Prize poem for translation.—Ode to Hope - - - 133
Resolution taken to repair to Grand Cairo - - - 136

CHAP. IX.

Voyage from Alexandria to Rosetta by the Lakes - - 138
Battle-fields of Abercrombie and Nelson - - - 138
Rosetta and its environs.—Costume of the British Consul - 139
Embark on the Nile for Cairo.—The Inundation - - 142
Amphibious boatmen.—Current.—Etesian winds - - 143
Delicious climate and scenery on the banks of the Nile - 144
Feast of Bairam.—Conversation with learned pilgrims - 145
Their notions of geography and history.—The Arctic regions 147
First sight of Cairo and the Egyptian pyramids - - 149
Striking peculiarities and varieties of the population - - 150
Hospitable reception at the British Residency - - 151
Character of Colonel Missett and his suite and parties - 152
Visits to all the objects of interest in Cairo and its environs - 154
Anecdotes of Oriental ideas and manners - - - 155
View of Cairo from the citadel.—Ignorance of villagers - 155
State of European society in Cairo generally - - - 158

CHAP. X.

Offer to transport ships across the Desert of Suez - - 161
Mode of operation and probable cost - - - - 162
Proposition for my making an expedition to India - - 163
Projected opening of a Canal from the Nile to the Red Sea - 165
Departure on a voyage to the Cataracts and Nubia - - 166

Page
Ruins of Memphis.—Pyramids of Saccara and Dashour - 167
Journey through Faioum to the Lake Mœris and Labyrinth - 171
Design of gathering rose-dew, to send to England - - 171
Ruins of Antinoë and Hermopolis.—Contrast of styles - 174

CHAP. XI.

Visit a caravan of slaves from the interior of Africa - - 176
Stay amidst the ruins of the hundred-gated Thebes - - 177
First interview with Mr. Burckhardt at Esné - - - 179
Reach Syené.—The frontiers of Egypt and Nubia - - 183
Proceed further, till rendered blind by ophthalmia - - 184
Return to Esné.—Letter of Mr. Burckhardt and second meeting 185
Halt at Kench, for my Desert journey to Cosseir - - 187

CHAP. XII.

Descent of the Nile from Nubia, and the Cataracts - - 189
Predicted perils of a journey across the Desert to Cosseir - 189
Disorganisation and disorder of the Turkish troops - - 191
Mohammed Ali's expedition against the Wahabees - - 192
An Arabian maiden warrior, a second Joan of Arc - - 192
Departure from Kench with an Albanian soldier - - 196
Travelling by night to avoid observation - - - 198
Jackals and Hyænas encountered on the route - - 201
Drunken companion.—Robbed of our camels - - 202
Other animals obtained with difficulty - - - 204
Arrested by a party of Albanian mutineers - - - 206
Stripped of everything, and left naked in the Desert - - 208
Hospitality of a "Good Samaritan" Bedouin - - - 210
Dreadful suffering from wounds, hunger, and thirst - - 211
Arrival at Cosseir.—New difficulties there - - - 213
Return to Kench without effecting my object - - - 218

CHAP. XIII.

Descent of the Nile from Kench to Cairo - - - 219
Commission to survey the Isthmus of Suez, and ascertain the practicability of a Canal across it - - - - 220

Page
Leave Cairo in the costume and character of a Bedouin Arab 221
Companions of my journey, and route pursued - - 221
Rude hospitality of the inhabitants of the Desert - - 224
Aversion of both men and camels to enclosed buildings - 228
Halt at the castle of Adjerood for the night - - - 229
Arab opinions of regular government and civilised life - 230
Arrive at Suez, and favourable reception by the Governor - 230
Description of the town, and nautical survey of the harbour - 232
Entry of the great caravan of 4,000 camels from Cairo - 236
Variety of races, complexions, characters, and costumes - 236
Predicted dangers of our future Desert Journey - - 237
Moore's Vision of Philosophy.—Sage of the Red Sea - 239

CHAP. XIV.

Journey in search of the ancient Canal - - - 242
Tradition of the Israelites passing the Red Sea - - 243
Places still called the Island and Creek of the Jews - - 243
No phenomena observed to account for this event according to the ordinary course of natural means - - - - 244
Arrival at the bed of the ancient Canal - - - 245
Authorities of Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, and Pliny - 246
Exact correspondence of the remains with these - - 249
Cleopatra's voyage on this Canal in her splendid barge - 249
Dreadful storm in the Desert, and its effects - - - 250
Revival of the project for a Canal.—A Railroad will now be more easy to execute - - - - - 256

CHAP. XV.

Journey through the Land of Goshen,—the Israelites - - 259
Pelusium, Menzaleh, and Tanis, the Zoan of Scripture - 259
Works of the Hebrew captives still seen there - - 259
Arrival at Damietta, the chief port of the Nile - - 259
Cross the whole of the Delta, from east to west - - 260
Visit the ruined sites of Busiris, Thaubastis, and Sais - 260
Arrival at Alexandria, and reception there - - - 260
Captain Berrington, a traveller for the interior of Africa - 260

Page
Excursions on the Nile and in the Delta - - - 261
Kindness of the Orientals to the brute creation - - 261
Fire and docility of the Arab horse,—Description of this by Job 261
Anecdote of an Arab merchant and voracious pigeons - 262
Accompany Mr. Maxwell and Captain Bramsen to Cairo - 266

CHAP. XVI.

First interview with Mohammed Ali Pasha - - - 267
Suggestions offered to him for improving Egypt - - 268
Education of Egyptian youths in Europe and America - 269
Employment of these as teachers among his people - - 270
Increase of knowledge would bring increased wealth - 271
Improvement required in the quality of Egyptian cotton - 272
This certain to attract British merchants and capital - 272
Intercourse with Europe thus made profitable - - 273
Results of the adoption of these suggestions - - - 274
Re-opening of the Canal between the Nile and Red Sea - 275
Reasons assigned by the Pasha for deferring this - - 276
His views of English policy, from their past history - - 277
Commission for me to purchase ships for him in India, and encourage the merchants there to trade with Egypt - 280

CHAP. XVII.

Departure for India by Suez and the Red Sea - - 282
Harem of the Pasha going to the Holy War - - 283
Mounts Horeb and Sinai, Ailoth and Ezion Geber - - 284
Fearful storm and loss of life and property - - - 286
Arrival at Jedda, the port of Mecca - - - - 290
Extreme illness, and reception by an Arab merchant - - 290
Visit from Othman, a Scotsman become a Turk - - 291
Removal on board an English ship in the harbour - - 292
Kindness and attention of Captain Boog.—Speedy recovery - 292
Visit from M. Burckhardt, who came down from Mecca - 293
Anecdote of Othman, and the Scotch Catechism - - 294
Mistranslation of the Scriptures into Arabic - - 297
Letters of Mr. Burckhardt from Mecca - - - 298

Page
Anecdote of an Indian Fakir and his prayers - - 309
Successful issue of faith and perseverance - - - 311

CHAP. XVIII.

Voyage from Jedda by Lohcia and Hodeida to Mocha - 313
Hydrographical information acquired - - - 313
Arrival at Mocha.—Reception at the Residency - - 314
Agreeable party of seven English gentlemen - - - 315
Occupations and researches while at Mocha - - 316
Letter to Mr. Burckhardt on the fate of Dr. Seetzen - 317
Lines adapted to the air, "Go where Glory waits thee" - 318
Peculiarities at Mocha.—Head-dresses of the Samaulies - 324
Abstinence from coffee, and substitute of ghasheb - - 325
Anecdote of an Indian Princess.—English tea - - 326
Visit to the port of Aden.—Letter to Mr. Forbes - - 329
Call at the Arabian port of Macullah - - - 333
Singular disease and deaths among the crew - - - 333
Influence of the Moon at sea.—Pythagoras and Moore - 334
Safe arrival in the harbour of Bombay - - - 336

CHAP. XIX.

Entrance to the noble harbour of Bombay - - - 337
Inquiries of Commercial Houses and their results - 339
Private acquaintances speedily formed - - - 339
Domesticated with intelligent and agreeable friends - - 340
Competition of Hindoo and Chinese agriculturists - - 343
Remarkable English women in Bombay - - - 345
Hospitality and gaieties of general society - - - 347
Excursions to the Cavern Temples of the Hindoos - - 348
Basaltic pillars.—Geological Explorers - - - 348
Adventures with Tigers in the Island of Salsette - - 350
Lines addressed to my Wife, with the rose-dew of Egypt - 356

CHAP. XX.

Mercantile want of confidence in the Egyptian Pasha - 359
Relinquishment of the Red Sea trade for the present - - 359

Page
Appointment to command an Arab frigate, the *Humayoon Shah* 360
Information given against me to the Solicitor-General - 361
Visits to the Chief Secretary and the Governor - - 361
Wish of Sir Evan Nepean to make me an American - - 362
Absurdity and injustice of the licensing system - - 363
Causes of this singular and unjust legislation - - 364
Correspondence with the Bombay Government - - 366
Refusal to allow me to remain in India - - - 370
Permission at length given to return to Egypt - - 384
Heavy pecuniary losses sustained thereby - - - 387

CHAP. XXI.

Voyage from Bombay to Suez by the Red Sea - - 388
Agreeable and accomplished companion, Mr. Babington - 389
Preparations for sea, and farewell visits - - - 389
Liberality of my friends, Mr. Erskine and Wedderburn - 389
Lines on leaving Bombay in the *Prince of Wales*, cruiser - 390
Southern passage beyond the Equator.—Heavy gales - - 392
Island of Diego Garcia.—Approach to the African coast - 392
Extract from the Manuscript Journal of our voyage - - 394
Mons Felix, an error for the Mountain of the Elephant - 395
Illustrations of Agatharchides and Ovid.—Halcyons - - 398
Arrival and stay at Mocha, and thence to Jedda - - 402
Peculiarities of the Red Sea — its crystal clearness - - 405
Beauty of the Coral formations on the reefs - - - 406
Difficulties and facilities of its navigation - - - 407
Transformation of shoals to habitable islands - - - 410
Anomalies in the tides of the Red Sea - - - 411
Lines to the air of "Montalambert" in a calm - - 411

CHAP. XXII.

Arrival at Suez, and journey across the Desert - - 413
Short stay at Cairo.—Meet Mr. Burckhardt there - - 413
Meet also Signor Belzoni, on his way to India - - 414
Dissuade him from the attempt, for reasons assigned - - 415
Hasten to Alexandria, to see the Pasha there - - - 415
Mr. Benjamin Babington remains at Cairo - - - 416

Page

Tribute to the character of my friend and companion - 416
Explanation to the Pasha, of want of confidence in India - 417
Recommend him to grant a Convention of Commerce - 417
Liberal concessions made by this Convention - - - 418
Contrast of its terms with former exactions - - - 420
Undertake to be the bearer of this to India - - - 422
Necessity for making this journey overland - - . - 422
Preparations to traverse Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Persia - 422
Reasons for adopting the Oriental costume - - - 423
Appointed as Envoy of the Pasha to India - - - 423
Safety of being a Turk.—Danger of being an Englishman - 424

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage through the Straits of Scio to Smyrna.—Becalmed off the Island of Mytelene or Lesbos.—Lines to the Setting Moon, air—"Fly not yet."—Anchor in the Bay of Smyrna.—Splendid scene.—First landing in Asiatic Turkey.—First impressions.—European or Frank society.—Country residences.—Sunday evening parties.—Balls and petit soupers.—Anecdote of an English captain as conjuror.—Turkish governor and Greek coiner of money.—Lord Byron.—Mr. Hobhouse.—Mr. Cockerell and Mr. Forster.—Mr. Fiott's adventurous journey across Asia Minor.—Captain Beaufort's survey of Caramania.—Fascinations of the soirées of Madame Marracini.—Coup-de-soleil, and severe delirious fever.—Anecdote of Captain Hope of the *Salsette* frigate.—Arrogance of merchant ships giving convoy.—Voyage home and safe arrival.

I WAS now about to tread, for the first time, the soil of Asia, and was glad when the abatement of the gale enabled us to shake out all our reefs and make sail for Smyrna. In our course towards this,

we passed through the Straits of Scio, having that island on the west, and the coast of Asia Minor, with the cave of the Erythrean Sybil, on the east. As a picture of marine scenery, this is perhaps the most lovely throughout the whole of the Archipelago:—the grandeur of its mountains, the fertility of its sloping shores, and the brilliance given to the whole by the numerous villages and villas on the slopes of Scio particularly, are really enchanting.

After clearing the Straits of Scio by its narrow entrance from the north, we passed close by the Island of Lesbos or Mytelene, the home of the poets Terpander, Alcæus, and Sappho, as fertile in subjects for reflection as any spot we had passed, and appearing to preserve all its ancient fertility and beauty. We were becalmed off this island during the night; when one of the most brilliant moonlights imaginable, such as are never seen in our northern latitudes, made it delicious to remain on deck and enjoy the balmy air, the exquisite perfume, and profound stillness which combined to make up an Elysium of delight. Before leaving England, I had often listened with pleasure to the favourite air of my beloved wife,—"Fly not yet," from one of Moore's Melodies; and, adapted to that air, I employed the leisure of the midnight watch in penning the following lines to

the Moon, which was too rapidly declining in the west.

TO THE SETTING MOON.

I.

Fly not yet ! thou radiant Moon,
Nor sink on Thetis' lap so soon :
Those rays, that light the western skies,
Still conjure up the magic ties
Of Love's endearing chain ;
Ties that defy e'en hoary Time,
Or change of scene, or change of clime,
While round this heart, with truth still glowing,
Nature's purple tide is flowing,
Oh ! stay, — Oh ! stay ;
Nor let the web thy beams have wove
In Memory's loom for her I love
So soon be rent in twain.

II.

Thy silver orb recalls the hour
When, at her touch, soft Music's power
Through every sense transported stole,
As o'er her song my captive soul
In silent wonder hung ;
For such the enchantment of her strain,
That bliss itself thrilled high with pain,
But, as I fled those maddening pleasures,
Soft she sighed, in Lydian measures,
Oh ! stay, — Oh ! stay.

The hours that glide on rapid wing
Such dear delights too seldom bring.
Then fly not yet, so soon!

III.

"Fly not yet!" — what spell divine
Breathes o'er the cadence of that line,
In dulcet notes like those which sung
Creation's dawning day.
E'en here, amid the holier balm
Of Grecian skies, in midnight calm,
While mortal sounds are sunk in slumbers,
Her sigh still breathes these melting numbers,
"Oh! stay, — Oh! stay."
And thus, sweet Moon, thy setting light
Prolongs the dream that hangs to-night
On that remembered lay.

In the morning, the sea-breeze setting in fresh and fair, we sailed up the Bay of Smyrna, the whole aspect of which is at once grand and beautiful, the mountains rising to a great height on all sides, with fertile plains near the sea. The city is seated on the rounded bosom of a hill, covering it in a convex and at the same time semicircular form, its summit being crowned by the extensive ruins of an old Genoese castle and fortification, by which it was defended when in possession of that enterprising people. All

the recollections of Homer, whose reputed birthplace was here, on the banks of the Meles, that runs into the sea,—of the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse, of which Smyrna was one of the most distinguished,—of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, a native of this city, who had lived and conversed with the apostles, being a disciple of St. John the Evangelist, who is believed to indicate his pupil, under the title of "the Angel of the Church in Smyrna," and to whom the Apocalypse is dedicated;—all these rushed upon my mind while viewing the scene before me. But I repress the indulgence of my desire to give expression to all that I felt.

After taking up our anchorage among the numerous shipping now in port, and within half a mile of the shore, among which it was difficult to find a good berth in so thickly crowded a fleet, we made the ship secure, and in an hour after I made my first landing in a Turkish city. Here everything was so new, that it at once bewildered and delighted. Bearded and turbanned Turks, on splendid horses gorgeously caparisoned, passed through the streets with the stately and magnificent air of persons born to subjugate and rule; camels in long trains, bearing merchandise to and from the magazines or warehouses; Turkish women, moving along like bulky ghosts, enveloped in

in multitudinous muslin robes, with their faces concealed, except the large dark liquid gazelle eyes, which made their looks penetrate the whole frame of those on whom they cast them with an intenseness of which the European eye would seem incapable. Next came the varied physiognomy and costume of the Armenians, with their long robes and bulky calpacs; the Albanian Greeks, with their short white petticoats, velvet and embroidered jackets, and jaunty little skull caps, often adorned with natural flowers; the sturdy peasant, with his brown skin and furrowed bull's neck, from the heart of Asia Minor; and the Turkish troops, literally bristling with arms to the teeth, in matchlock, pistol, yataghan, khandjar, and scimetar, looking as fierce as though destruction was their pastime. It was like the moving scene of a drama rather than of real life, and was doubly exciting from the suddenness with which we were plunged into it, from the comparative uniformity of a long sea voyage.

My ship being consigned to the house of Lee and Sons, established more than a century at Smyrna, I was invited to take up my residence with them on shore, which I gladly accepted; and by this means soon became introduced to the most agreeable society of the place. Mr. John Lee, the head of the firm here, was assisted by two of his nephews, Mr.

Richard and James Brant, whose father was an extensive silk merchant in London, and whose mother, a native of Smyrna, was Mr. Lee's sister. The consul at this time was Mr. Werry, an old officer of seventy years of age, who had been at his post for half a century, and was more than half a Turk in his opinions, manners, and practices. Besides these, who might be called the heads of the European circle at Smyrna, there were about a dozen English merchants and their families, three or four Americans, Mr. Van Lennap, the Dutch consul, of almost as long standing as Mr. Werry, and the consuls of France, Piedmont, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, America, and many smaller states, making, with their families and those of the Levantines and Greeks into which they had married, a circle of from two to three hundred of European origin and descent.

These chiefly resided in what was called the Frank quarter of Smyrna, where the streets and houses were after French models, with port-cocheres, and courts or gardens in the centre, around which the dwelling stood; while the Turkish quarter — built almost wholly of wooden houses — had narrow and tortuous streets, and was everywhere as dirty as the Frank quarter was clean. What constituted the great charm, however, of Smyrna as a residence, was the

numerous and beautiful villages in its environs, particularly Boudjah, Bournabat, and Sedikui, at each of which were villas and delightful gardens, to which the Europeans retire from their counting-houses every night during the summer, and where they sometimes remain for a week or more at a time in the season, when business was not pressing. Sundays and fête days, which seemed to occur even more frequently than the Sabbath, were the great days for visiting; and on these occasions the houses were open to receive all who called. The hours of meals were, breakfast at eight, dinner at one, and supper at eight; this last being the principal meal of the day; and, after the ancient French mode, the visitors usually assembled an hour before supper for conversation, and, after the meal, wound up the evening by a dance, to which no invitations were given, but at which every one once introduced to the family were sure of a cordial reception. At such parties it was not unusual for the Turkish governor of Smyrna, or some pulent or distinguished Turk, to be present, with his suite, as a guest or looker on; while in the dance would be mingled European ladies and gentlemen in the latest fashions of London or Paris, long-robed Armenians, short-kilted Greeks, English and French naval officers, in their blue uniforms and gold epau-

lets, and European travellers making Smyrna their head-quarters, in their ill-suiting Asiatic dresses; with a larger number of beautiful female forms and faces among the young Greeks and Levantines, than were ever seen among an equally limited circle of fashion and beauty in any city in Europe. The summer and autumnal evenings are so soft and balmy in this delicious climate, that during these festive entertainments every door and window can be thrown open with impunity; and nothing was more frequent than at the close of the dance to see the partners retire together for a walk in the garden, where all the perfume and freshness of the open air might be enjoyed without risk to health.

At two of these Sunday evening parties, one at Bournabat and the other at Sedikui, which means "the village of love," I witnessed two scenes which may be worth recording. An English naval officer, Captain Mainwaring, commanding the *Kite* sloop-of-war, then in the harbour, had learnt in Sicily various tricks of legerdemain, and was solicited to exhibit his powers, between the dance, to the assembled company. His feats of skill were intensely admired, and created universal satisfaction. As a final exhibition, he offered to take any quantity of blood from the complexion of any young lady of the party, with

an assurance that no possible harm should happen to her from the process, but that she should be infinitely more beautiful at its close. It was some time before any one could be found ready to submit to the operation; but at length, a young Greek, extremely lovely and about sixteen, tempted perhaps by the promise of increased beauty, consented. A large wash-basin being placed on the table, her head was held over it, and the Captain made what was supposed to be an incision with a lancet, just beneath the under lip, holding at the same time a silver funnel pressed close to the wound. The crimson stream began to flow immediately, and after a tolerable quantity had escaped, the relatives and friends became somewhat alarmed, and asked the young lady how she felt. Her reply was, that she hardly knew, except that dizziness and faintness were fast seizing on her, and she hoped the Captain would soon desist. She had scarcely uttered the words, however, before she fainted away in a swoon, looking as pale as death. The shrieks from the female spectators were piercing, and these were soon followed by execrations against the murderer of this youthful beauty, as the Captain was now considered. The tumult, indeed, became so general, and the alarm and indignation so infectious, that there was scarcely a person in the

whole assembly unmoved; and a party, which a few minutes before had been remarkable for its hilarity and joyousness, was now changed to one of sadness and gloom. There were two medical men among the visitors, and both were called in to look upon the supposed corpse, when, after the most diligent search, no trace of an incision could be found, as none had really been made; the whole being a trick performed by having a funnel with a double casing, in the space between which a quantity of crimson fluid, exactly like blood in colour and general appearance, which was permitted to flow through a valve under the operator's guidance; the fainting, therefore, was the mere effect of the mind upon the body, from the young lady believing that she was losing blood by the operation.

The other incident was this. The Turkish Governor being present as a guest, and Captain Mainwaring's feats having been described to him, he said he would produce a Greek who should surpass them all. The soldiers of his suite were accordingly sent to bring a man from the village prison, where he had been confined for some months for non-payment of taxes, he being one of the strolling class of conjurors, who earn their money easily and spend it freely, and are almost always in pecuniary difficulties. The

man came, and certainly performed 'some tricks' that would have been thought wonderful in Europe; and at length, as the climax of his art, turned copper coins into silver, and silver coins into gold. This astonished the Governor beyond all the rest; and he seemed really to doubt whether this was a mere conjuring trick, or whether it was not an actual transmutation of the metals, in the possibility of which, through alchemy, all the orientals believe. He expressed his admiration accordingly in the highest terms. Some benevolent persons present, thinking it a good opportunity to perform an act of charity, went in a body to the Governor, and entreated him, as a reward to the Greek, to issue an order for his release from prison, for which they would all be very grateful. To this the shrewd Turkish dignitary replied, that if he had been imprisoned for murder or any other crime which he could not clear himself of, it would be a different matter; but as his imprisonment was solely on account of his not paying his taxes, and he had the power to clear himself of this whenever he pleased, as he could convert copper into silver and silver into gold, it was his own fault if he remained in confinement a day longer. The Governor therefore recommended him first to pay his taxes by this transmutation, after which he should

be happy to place him at the head of his own treasury, which was now too often empty, but which his art would always keep full.

The principal place of fashionable *réunion* in Smyrna itself, was the house of Madame Marracini, a Greek lady, widow of an Italian husband, who had two charming daughters; the eldest peculiarly lovely and fascinating, and a handsome son, with his exquisitely beautiful Greek wife. At this house there were two receptions in the week, and they were always attended by the best European society of the place, as well as by some of the wealthiest of the Greek and Armenian merchants, and often by the Governor and his suite. Lord Byron and Mr. Hobhouse, who were then on their travels in the East, and had only recently left Smyrna, were frequent visitors here; and Mr. Cockerell and Mr. Forster, architects, now here, made it their constant place of resort. The elder daughter soon after this accepted Mr. Forster's offer of marriage, and he took her with him to Liverpool, where his father held some high office under the corporation, and he himself was appointed architect of the town, where they lived many years in happiness, and enjoyed universal esteem. Mr. Forster had just returned to Smyrna at this period, after an excursion in Greece, where Mr. Cockerell

and himself had discovered the Temples of Tegea, and offered the sculptures and bas-reliefs to the British Government; but though they were of the greatest interest in every point of view, the offer was rejected, and they were purchased by the King of Bavaria for the museum at Munich, where I had the pleasure to see them, most advantageously arranged, in the Glyptotheca of that city, in 1846.

Among other English travellers in the East at this period was Mr. Fiott, a gentleman who arrived in Smyrna, after a most enterprising journey through the heart of Asia Minor, in parts where no European had before travelled; and his arrival created a great sensation, from admiration of the courage which such an undertaking, in a European dress, evinced. I understood that he then enjoyed what is called a Travelling Fellowship from the University of Cambridge, of which he was a member, receiving a small income of 300*l.* a year, for three years, on condition of his visiting foreign parts, and communicating from time to time the result of his observations; a plan worthy of adoption by all the learned bodies of Europe, but with more liberal allowance of means, if any valuable or important discoveries were expected to be made by the recipients. After an interval of twenty years (from 1812 to 1832), I had the pleasure

of again meeting this same Mr. Fiott, in the person of Dr. John Lee, of Hartwell House, near Aylesbury, the owner of a fine estate, coming to him on condition of his assuming the name of its original possessor; and I have for twenty years more (from 1832 to 1854) enjoyed the frequent intercourse and friendship of the same estimable gentleman; a scholar, a philanthropist, and a patriot, and the friend of every enterprise or undertaking calculated to advance the freedom and happiness of the human race.

It was at this period also that Captain (now Admiral Sir Francis) Beaufort was employed in the *Frederickstein* frigate, surveying the coast of Caramania, and the southern shores of Asia Minor, the results of which he subsequently published in his agreeable and instructive volumes, which obtained for him the reputation of being one of the most scientific and accurate hydrographers of the age, and ultimately led to his becoming the chief of the hydrographical department of the Admiralty. Captain Beaufort made Smyrna his head-quarters, and was as popular among all classes here for his quiet and gentlemanly qualities and manners, as for his bravery, science, and naval reputation.

My ship having received some injury by a Greek polacca running foul of her while coming to an

anchor in a lubberly style, it became necessary to "heave her out," the sea phrase for turning her nearly bottom upwards, at the careening place, in order to examine and repair the injury. In attending this always delicate and difficult operation, my long exposure to the sun caused me to be visited by a *coup de soleil*, and this brought on a brain fever, under which I was prostrate in strength and delirious in mind for nearly a fortnight; during which it was said by my friends and attendants, that I dwelt almost constantly on subjects connected with Oriental life and manners, sometimes imagining myself to be a Sultan, and addressing my surrounding ministers and officers of state in the true Cambyses vein. Nothing could exceed the attention of the kind family of Mr. Lee and his nephews, the Brants, during my illness, which would have been of much longer duration, and perhaps fatal, but for their aid.

My recovery being complete, and all our preparations made for the return voyage to England, I paid a round of visits, took leave with regret, and went on board. As at this period the Archipelago was swarming with pirates from the Morea, chiefly Greeks, but associated with deserters, escaped convicts, and renegades of all nations, I thought it might be acceptable to some of the unarmed coasters

and smaller craft navigating westward, to have the protection of an armed vessel like my own, with twelve guns, musketry, and small arms, and a stout and resolute crew. On making the first indication of sailing — the fore-topsail loose and blue Peter at the mast-head — we fired a gun, and hoisted the usual signal for convoy at the peak. Just at this moment the *Salsette* frigate, Captain Hope, entered the bay on her return from a short cruise; when hearing a gun and seeing a signal for convoy, which ships of war alone generally give; and seeing, moreover, by the low, graceful hull, taunt masts, square yards, and general style of the rigging, that there was something of a naval cut in our vessel, he made the signal to show our number, which, not being a ship of war, we were of course unable to do. As soon, therefore, as the frigate had anchored, Captain Hope sent a midshipman in the jolly-boat to command the immediate attendance of the commander of the offending vessel to answer for his conduct. Of course I immediately obeyed the command, and in half-an-hour I stood on the frigate's quarter-deck, where Captain Hope, surrounded by his officers, who evidently expected a scene, said to me, in a tone of genuine authority, "How dare you, Sir, to make signal for convoy, not holding his Majesty's commis-

sion as a naval officer?" To which I replied, with a firmness evidently not expected,—"Sir, I not only dare to do so now, but to repeat it if required: and dare you to haul down such signal at your peril." The answer seemed rather to amuse than to offend, by its very extravagance, and was received by Captain Hope with a hearty laugh, which lit up his fine features and benevolent countenance: "Oh! Sir," he replied, "I suppose you come armed with Vattell and Puffendorff, to show me it is not contrary to the law of nations; or with De Lolme and Blackstone to prove that it is part of the constitutional right of a British subject; but you will admit, I suppose, that it is not accordant with the naval regulations." I replied, that though I was not unacquainted with the high authorities named, yet this was a case not likely to be provided for in their books; and as to regulations for the naval service, I could not be held amenable to them: but unless Captain Hope could point out to me some law or authorised regulation, by which an armed merchant vessel was forbidden to offer protection to unarmed ones who chose to sail under her convoy, I should still keep the signal flying, and be happy to take under our wing as many vessels as chose to accompany us." "Oh! oh!" he replied, laughing, "I see you are a much

greater man than I had expected to find — so great, indeed, that I cannot think of returning you in the jolly-boat, which will not be large enough to hold you. Where's the boatswain? Clear the launch, —hoist her out, and let her be manned with double-banked oars, to take on board his ship this *great* merchant commander!" The shrill whistle of the boatswain and his mates were soon heard piping out the launch, amid the laughter of officers and men, for all of them thoroughly understood this piece of practical irony and satire; and in a few minutes the launch was afloat, with a double-banked crew and coxswain and a master's mate to escort me on board—the huge size of the launch strikingly contrasting with the simple object for which it was employed.

During the transit, however, I meditated my revenge, which was ample and complete. The officer who conveyed me in the launch, felt the sort of indignity displayed towards me in this practical naval joke; and his sympathies were accordingly enlisted on my behalf. I proposed to him, therefore, after some conversation, that the launch should board my ship on the off-side from the frigate, which happened to be the lee or proper side for such a purpose, and that the launch's crew should all step on board and weigh our anchor, an affair of five minutes only, as

we were hove short in five fathoms water, and therefore had a very small range of cable out. While the frigate's men were doing this, all our own crew were ordered aloft, by which we were enabled to do what can only be accomplished in ships of war with all hands, namely, loose every sail at once, and sheet home and hoist them to the mast-head; so that with this double crew,—one on deck heaving in the anchor, and the other aloft making sail,—we were under way in less than five minutes from the launch reaching us. We then fired a gun in triumph, and bore away under crowded canvas, followed by about a dozen smaller vessels bound to the Greek islands who had accepted our protection, as much, no doubt, to the astonishment of the frigate's officers and crew, as to all others who had witnessed this unusual rapidity without knowing its cause.

We soon cleared the capes of the Bay of Smyrna, saw all our little convoy safe to their destination, and then made the best of our way to England, stopping only at Gibraltar to fill up our water, encountering very heavy gales in the British Channel in December, and reached the Thames on Christmas-day, rejoicing again to enjoy this festive season in the bosom of my family and friends.

CHAP. II.

New phase of life.—Gaiety and pleasure in London.—Appointed to command the *Scipio* for the Mediterranean.—First interest about India and its commercial monopoly.—Meeting at the Mansion-house for the renewal of the Company's charter.—Alderman Waithman and Sir William Curtis.—Leave London for Portsmouth.—Domestic calamity.—Liberality of the ship's owners.—My wife and child join me.—Scene at Gibraltar.—Female patriotism and loyalty.—Sail for Malta.—Sudden gale and great danger.—The lost thimble, a first misfortune in life.—Singular obstruction to the progress of the fleet.—Immense swarm of Locusts drowned in the sea.—Recorded instances of similar enormous hosts.—Islands of Zambro and Pantellaria.—Cape Bon.—First sight of Sicily.—History and poetry of the island.—Arrival at Malta, and short stay there.

My stay on shore after this voyage introduced me to a new phase of life, and the most agreeable that I had yet experienced. The owners of the *William*, being French gentlemen, had sold the ship and cargo, both of which passing into other hands, I had no disposition to continue the connection, and accordingly resigning my command, had a month or two of leisure on my hands for enjoyment; and *who* can drink in so much pleasure in so short a time as sailors arriving

home after a tempestuous voyage, such as the latter half of ours had been.

I was furnished, by the European friends I had made at Malta and Smyrna, with introductions to their relations and connections in London; and my days and nights were spent in the gayest circles, in the enjoyment of dinners, musical parties, balls, and other entertainments, with such visits to the opera and theatre as the intervals of private parties admitted, till pleasure itself began to be wearisome, and I longed to return to the sea, and to duty again. I accordingly soon obtained the command of another and larger ship, the *Scipio*, belonging to the firm of St. Barbe, Green, and Nicholls, in Mincing Lane, on highly liberal terms, for my second voyage to Smyrna, touching, as usual, at Gibraltar and Malta in the way; being sufficiently well armed and manned to sail without convoy if more convenient, or to join with any other vessel of similar equipments for mutual protection.

It was at this period (1812), that I heard, for the first time, anything to interest me about India and its affairs. On passing by the Mansion House in London, I observed a large placard announcing a public meeting then holding in the Egyptian Room, on the subject of the East India Company's charter,

then soon about to expire, and the renewal of which was to be advocated by the Corporation of the City of London. My curiosity being awakened, I entered the building, and found a large and elegantly dressed audience assembled, containing quite as many ladies as gentlemen. The speaker then addressing it was Mr. Alderman Waithman, who had moved an amendment to the original resolution recommending the renewal of the charter, the substance of which amendment was, that commercial monopolies were injurious to the nation granting them, even when the individuals in whose favour such monopolies were established, benefited by them; but that in the present instance both the nation and the monopolists suffered:— the nation, by the exclusion of its subjects generally from the benefits of the trade with India and China, comprehending nearly half the inhabitants of the globe; and the monopolists, by their annual losses in the very trade of which they had exclusive possession, by their extravagant manner of conducting it — their original capital being six millions sterling, — and their debt having increased from year to year till it amounted to more than twenty millions; so that, in fact, as a Trading Company they were insolvent, and really resembled the popular fiction of the dog in the manger, as they did not enjoy the benefits

of the trade themselves, and yet resisted every attempt on the part of others to participate in it.

The worthy alderman sustained his position by statements and arguments, so cogent as it appeared to me, that in my ignorance of public bodies and their proceedings, I thought his amendment was sure to be carried by an overwhelming majority—conceiving—alas! how innocently!—that reason and justice would carry all before them. When he resumed his seat, however, the hisses and murmurs of the large assembly greatly predominated over the marks of sympathy or approbation; and I had the mortification to find myself the only one, on the row or bench on which I sat, that applauded by clapping of hands, which I did most lustily nevertheless.

Immediately after Alderman Waithman, rose Sir William Curtis, a wealthy ship biscuit baker and contractor, and a large proprietor of East India stock, who, though rather renowned for the absence than the presence of much wisdom, was, nevertheless, one of the most popular aldermen of London, and celebrated for his gastronomic fame, turtle and champagne dinners, and civic hospitality. He was received with the most boisterous applause, even before he had opened his lips—so entirely satisfied were the audience, apparently, that what he was going to

say would be agreeable to them. His speech was certainly original, and highly characteristic of the man. He said, in substance, it was all very well for the honourable alderman who had just sat down to come forward with his statistics, by which a man might prove anything, and with his arguments, which were not worth the trouble of refuting; it would, no doubt, answer the speaker's purpose in increasing his popularity among the enemies of our glorious constitution, who wanted to pull down all established institutions, beginning with the East India Company, and then passing on to the House of Lords, the Established Church, and at last the very Crown itself. But he, Alderman Curtis, and his friends, had come forward to stand by the altar and the throne, to uphold whatever was established, and to resist all innovations. He knew enough of the Hindoos and the Chinese to know that they would never trade with any other parties than the Honourable East India Company; and as to the opening their countries to the rabble that would be sure to find their way there, if once the charter were abolished and the trade and intercourse made free, he was quite certain that before a year was over, we should be forcibly expelled from China — we should lose our glorious empire in India altogether, and then

the sun of England's greatness would be set for ever!

His speech, though short, was repeatedly interrupted by vociferous applause, and his portly body and round full rubicund face seemed lighted up with more than its usual tints of purple and crimson, in which the juice of the grape and the good cheer of his brother alderman, the cook and confectioner Birch, who furnished forth the city feasts, contended for the mastery. When the motion was put from the chair, Alderman Waithman's free-trade amendment was lost by an overwhelming majority, and the original resolution recommending the renewal of the East India Company's charter carried unanimously; for the minority was so small that none held up their hands when the original resolution was put to the vote.

I returned from the meeting as much astonished as I was disgusted at the result. I remembered, when ten or twelve years younger, before the death of Pitt or Fox, reading the debates in Parliament, then scantily reported in the public papers; and being struck with the fact, that the arguments of the Whigs seemed to me so convincing, compared with those of the Tories, that I could never comprehend how it happened that the votes were always in favour of the latter. But anything so palpably gross as the ex-

hibition at the Mansion-house I had never before experienced.

At this period I had not the most remote idea that I should ever visit India myself; still less that I should take so prominent a part in advocating and enforcing the unpopular views of Mr. Alderman Waithman, as enunciated at the meeting in question. But though for the time powerfully impressed with the truth, the whole subject soon passed away from my mind, having other more pressing claims to attend to; yet when I was thrown, by a combination of unexpected circumstances, into India itself, and could see with my own eyes, and hear with my own ears, the evidences by which I was surrounded, I received my convictions from original sources; and though, like Mr. Waithman, at first in a miserable minority, I have happily lived to see the whole country converted to my views, and the results I predicted, of advantage to India and to England, more than realised and acknowledged by the Crown, the Legislature, and the people.

During my last voyage, my dear wife had given birth to a second daughter, which was about three months old at the time of my arrival, and her extreme beauty, even at the period of my first seeing her, was remarked by all as something too perfect to

last; but she grew in loveliness as well as in endearing ways, till her sixth month, when I was about to resume my vocation, and this rendered our parting more than usually painful. But the calls of duty were imperative, and I was obliged to go. The ship being fully prepared and equipped for the voyage, we dropped down to Gravesend, passed through the Downs in a heavy gale, had a contrary wind and tedious passage all the way round to Portsmouth, and on our arrival there I received a letter containing the unexpected and painful news of our dear child's sudden death by a spasmodic seizure, which instantly stopped her breath in the very moment of laughing hilarity in her mother's arms. It had occurred only the day after my leaving London, and a *post-mortem* examination of the body having been made, it was found that some organic affection of the heart was the cause of her death.

In the first impulse of the moment I intended immediately to return to London; but as railroads did not then exist, the journey to and from, and my stay in town, would have risked the loss of the convoy about to sail for the Mediterranean, then waiting only for a fair wind, and my duty to the owners of the ship and cargo would not justify such a step. I wrote off immediately by post, however, to Messrs. St. Barbe,

Green, and Nicholls, requesting their permission to take my wife and only remaining child with me on the voyage, and bade her at the same time to prepare to join me at once. One of the owners immediately waited on my wife in Burr Street, communicated the consent of the firm to the wish I had expressed, and wrote to me authorising whatever extra expenditure I might think necessary for the accommodation and comfort of my wife and child during the voyage, leaving the amount entirely at my discretion. We felt, as might be supposed, deeply grateful for such a mark of kindness and confidence, and took great care that such generosity should not be abused. The disconsolate mother and her sorrowing little daughter, who was old enough (three years) to feel the affliction of losing a playful companion and a sister, arrived at Portsmouth, on the evening that brought intelligence of the death of Mr. Perceval, the Prime Minister, who was shot in the lobby of the House of Commons by Bellingham, on the 11th of May, 1812.

We remained some days at anchor on the Mother Bank, off Portsmouth, wind-bound; when about the 15th, a north-east wind having sprung up, we sailed with a large fleet which had been for some weeks collecting, under the convoy of a frigate and two sloops of war; and passing through the Needles we

had a fine run down Channel, and were out of sight of land on the following day. The continually shifting scenes presented by a large fleet under sail (and this numbered more than two hundred vessels of all sizes) was extremely favourable to the recovery of my wife's spirits after her recent loss; and the novelty of everything around her was a perpetual source of delight to my young daughter. As neither of them were at all affected by sea sickness, they were on deck the whole day, and generally some portion of the night too, as the weather was delicious, and every day of our progress southward made the heavens more brilliant with glowing stars.

Our voyage to Gibraltar, from the prevalence of light winds, was longer than the usual run, occupying about a fortnight, as we anchored in the bay on the 1st of June. The rates of freight were at this time, however, so high, in consequence of the war, that there was ample margin for profit even on long voyages: 5*l.* a ton to Gibraltar, 7*l.* 10*s.* to Malta, and 10*l.* to Smyrna, were not uncommon, being at least five times the prices paid during the subsequent years of peace. Our stay at Gibraltar occupied about a week, and the 4th of June, King George the Third's birthday falling within it, we went on shore early in the morning to witness the review of troops which was to

be made in honour of the occasion. As my wife and I alternately carried our child through the streets of Gibraltar to the parade, the little creature attracted all eyes by its excessive beauty of feature and brilliance of rosy complexion,—so utterly unlike any thing usually seen in this garrison, where the Spanish population are dark brown, and the few English children, belonging to the officers or men in the fort, are pale and languid in appearance—while this newly imported English-born child, with its blue eyes, flaxen curls, and rosy cheeks, was full of animation, and had a nod or a smile for every one that approached it with caresses, which were so frequent that we thought we should never get to the parade ground. We were, however, in good time, to hear the royal salutes fired from the batteries and troops, which were overpoweringly grand, from the number and size of the cannon and the echoes and reverberations of the rocky galleries, from which many of them were discharged. The scene was terminated by all the military bands on the ground uniting in playing the national air of "God save the King." At this moment the tears began to roll down my wife's cheek, and her utterance was completely choked; her child, from mere sympathy, wept copiously also, and I found myself so touched by the same influence as to share fully

in their feelings. It was the first time my wife had ever been out of England; and the sentiment of patriotism, loyalty, pride in British supremacy, and joy at finding English hearts and English hands here united in so formidable and yet fascinating a form, quite overcame her, and broke up the fountain of tears, without sorrow, which flowed freely, and which there was no desire to restrain.

On the following day we sailed from Gibraltar for Malta, the fleet being now reduced to about a hundred sail, many having left the convoy to go into Oporto, Lisbon, and other ports on the way: but we had not proceeded far on our way before we encountered a sudden change of wind from the eastward, which came on in the middle of the night, blew with great violence, and threw the whole fleet into confusion. Some of the ships bore up with their heads to the southward, others with their heads to the northward; while others again, being slow sailers, and having all their canvas spread, found their only safety in flying westward before the gale. The consequence was, that several of the vessels ran foul of each other: and the whistling of the wind, the crash of falling masts, the flapping of rent sails, and the hoarse vociferations of the officers and men from each, made up a scene of terror. We had ourselves a

narrow escape of being cut right in two amidships. Being awakened from my sleep by the first burst of the gale, I left my cot and leaped on deck without stopping to dress; and right on our weather beam was seen, rolling down towards us, one of those heavy sailers, deeply laden, running before the wind, breasting an immense mass of foam before her prow; and in three minutes her stem would have cut us just before the main chains, so that one or both would probably have foundered from the shock. There was really no time to give orders, so rushing myself to the wheel, we put the helm hard-a-weather. The ship being under full steerage way, answered her helm immediately; and we thus came into contact side by side, just grazing each other as we went along, till we found an opportunity of disentangling. It was one of those hair-breadth escapes which depend upon self-possession and the action of a moment, where there is no time for deliberation; and a sea-life is full of such, especially in the variable latitudes.

As a striking illustration of what seemingly trifling events may be regarded as severe misfortunes, according to the circumstances under which and the persons to whom they occur, I may mention that our little daughter Virginia here suffered her first "great misfortune," as she then deemed it. Her

mother had taught her to use her needle; and she was provided with a work-box and all the usual implements and materials for a labour of three or four hours a day at this useful art, to which she had become much attached. On leaving the cabin to come on deck for a short interval of time, she negligently forgot to leave her thimble behind her, and looking over the ship's side to watch the motion of the waves, her hand holding fast of the bulwark railing, the thimble dropped from her finger into the sea. Unfortunately there was no duplicate in reserve; and by no ingenuity on our part could her mother's thimble be sufficiently reduced in size to answer the purpose. The child's grief was intense: all her dreams of what she was going to make and do in the course of the voyage, were in a moment destroyed; and till our arrival at Malta, where it was replaced, "the lost thimble" seemed to be her first thought on awaking in the morning, and the last before she went to sleep at night. She has, indeed, often since confessed that she never remembers to have suffered a grief more poignant than this in all her after-life.

The easterly gale at length moderated in force, but continued to blow from the same quarter for several days, so that our progress in beating to windward,

always at the rate of the slowest sailers in the fleet, was very slight. At length the wind shifted to the south-east, and then south, with a suffocating heat, this being the sirocco of the Levant; and blowing over the great Libyan and Numidian deserts, comes charged with hot and sulphurous vapours, causing a most disagreeable sensation of a stifling and oppressive kind. On the third day after this shift of wind, and when we were well up abreast of Sicily, but nearer to the African shore, we were surprised one morning at seeing all the headmost vessels of the fleet arrested in their course by some obstacle which impeded the progress of each ship as she came up with it, till the entire convoy formed an almost straight line. On looking over the ship's side there was seen a thick mass of brown matter, which it was difficult to sail through with all canvas spread, it appearing to be between the consistency of oil and tar, or melted butter and honey. Buckets full of it were drawn up on deck for inspection, but all we could perceive was that it was some animal matter in a state of decay, and emitting a most disagreeable odour. Sending the buckets deeper and deeper, however, by attaching weights to their bottom, so as to bring up some of the lower strata, we perceived the legs and wings, and half-putrid bodies, of brown locusts,

in a less advanced stage of decomposition than the brown oily mass of the surface; and we concluded of course that the whole mass was composed of the same materials. Desirous of ascertaining the extent of the space occupied by it, I went to the fore-topmast cross-trees with a glass, and sweeping the horizon ahead and on each side of us, I perceived that it extended as far as the eye could reach to the east, north, and south, which presented one solid and unbroken mass of smooth brown surface, while to the west the open sea presented the deep blue which distinguishes the waters of the Mediterranean. The conclusion was that some vast flight of locusts passing from Africa to Europe, had encountered a contrary wind in their passage, and had fallen, exhausted, into the sea, and were there gradually decaying in the state in which we found them.

Such flights of locusts have from time to time been recorded in history, as marking the devastation everywhere caused by their numbers. In the year 593, a famine was caused in Turkey and Persia by their consumption of the fruits and grain of the fields. In 677, Syria and Mesopotamia were overrun with them. In 852, immense swarms of them took their flight from the eastern regions into the west, flying with such a sound that they might be mistaken for

birds: they destroyed all vegetables, not sparing even the bark of trees or the thatch of houses; and they devoured the corn so rapidly as to destroy, on a computation, a hundred and forty acres in a day. Their daily progress was about twelve miles; and their movements appeared to have been regulated by kings or leaders, who flew first and settled on the spot which was to be visited the next day at the same hour by the whole legion; their movement always commencing at sunrise. After traversing the continent of Europe, they were driven at last into the Baltic Sea, where, being thrown back on the shores, they caused a dreadful pestilence by their putrefaction. In 1271, all the corn fields around Milan were destroyed by locusts; in 1339, all those of Lombardy; and in 1541, such incredible hosts of them afflicted Wallachia and Moldavia, that they darkened the sun by their numbers, and ravaged all the fruits of the earth. Volney gives a striking description of their numbers, and the devastation they committed in Syria and Palestine; but the most remarkable account on record, in modern times, is that of a gentleman of Poonah, who was witness to an immense army of locusts which ravaged the Mahratta country in India. The column they composed was said to have extended five hundred miles in length; and so compact was

their body when on the wing, that like an eclipse they completely hid the sun, so that no shadow was cast by any object, and some lofty tombs at a short distance were rendered quite invisible. What added to the horror of the scene was, that they were of the red species of locusts, so that clustering upon the trees, after they had stripped them of their foliage, they turned the verdant green into a bloody hue. The second chapter of the Book of the Prophet Joel, describing these hosts, says emphatically: — "The land is as the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness:" and again, "The sun and the moon shall be dark before them, and the stars shall withdraw their shining."

We were heartily glad to get through this mass of animal putrefaction, by a strong breeze from the west, to which every ship crowded all the sail she could spread; and by daylight on the following morning we had the gratification of being once more in the pure element of water, which seemed doubly beautiful after the brown surface we had so recently traversed. About nine o'clock we were abreast of the uninhabited island of Zambro, at noon off Cape Bon, at sunset abreast of the island and town of Pantellaria; and on the following day we came in sight of Sicily.

Here was a new chapter of history opened for study and investigation; and having a good historical library on board, we profited by our proximity to the island to read its varied story, from the aboriginal Sicanians to the Greeks — with the disastrous expedition of Nicias and Alcibiades — the lives of Phalaris, Gelon, and Dionysius — of Hiero and Thrasibulus, Timoleon, and Agathocles, as well as of Simonides, Pindar, and Archimedes, up to its conquest by the Romans under Marcellus, B. C. 208, and after this its changes under the Vandals, the Saracens, and the Normans. As an island, it is, perhaps, one of the most beautiful and interesting in the world — its scenery embracing every variety, from the flame-emitting and snow-crowned grandeur of Mount Etna, to the softest and most fertile valleys and plains — its ruins embracing the mighty cities of Agrigentum, Syracuse, and Taormina; and its mythology and poetry, the forge of Vulcan, the residence of the Cyclops and the Sirens, and the famed Scylla and Charybdis of Homer and Virgil; while its modern cities of Palermo, Messina, and Catania are full of interest of another kind. All this, and much more than can be here detailed, formed the subject of our reading and discourses during the intervals of duty by day and night,

till we reached Malta, where we anchored in safety in the middle of July, to remain a week or two for the transaction of business in disposing of a portion of the cargo, and taking in other goods on freight or for sale at Smyrna.

CHAP. III.

Stay at Malta and agreeable parties there.—Voyage through the Greek Archipelago.—Attacked by Greek pirates near Cerigo.—Obstinate conflict and ultimate victory.—Injury sustained in wounded and disabled.—Succeeding storm, and danger of shipwreck.—Island of Santorin thrown up by submarine volcano.—Crete or Candia, its history and associations.—Delos, the sacred island of the Greeks.—Herodotus, Virgil, and Horace.—Persian fleet.—Nicaria.—Singular custom of sponge divers.—Samos, its ancient celebrity and modern decay.—Pythagoras and his doctrines.—Moore's classical odes.—Ancient traveller's description of Samos divers.—Passage through the Straits of Scio to Smyrna.—Plague raging in the city.—Villages happily free.

Our stay at Malta extended to about a fortnight, which, notwithstanding the heat of a June and July sun, reflected from its white limestone rocks and buildings, which is excessive, were passed most agreeably; my wife and her infant daughter exciting great attention, and excursions being made for them by friends and residents to whom we had become known, to every part of the island, as well as to all the public establishments and private parties in the city, in which, whenever the intervals of duty admitted, I was too

happy to join them. Extreme exertion, however, to get the ship ready for sailing by a given time, was followed in my case, as at Smyrna on the preceding voyage, by a *coup-de-soleil* and high fever.

Recovering from this, and finding no ship of war giving convoy up the Archipelago, I formed an agreement with Captain Brigham, of the ship *Hebe*, of Hull, belonging to Staniforth and Blunt of that port, to sail together for mutual protection, as we were each sufficiently well armed, we thought, to be a match conjointly for any pirates we might meet; these being the chief enemies to be encountered in these parts.

We accordingly left Malta on the evening of the 25th of July, and kept well together till we made the coast of Greece, between Cape Droso and Cape Matapan, the southern promontory of the Morea. To save the delay and risk of calling at Milo for a pilot, we took on board a Greek at Malta who was returning home, and who was thoroughly acquainted with the navigation of the Archipelago; and we found him fully competent to his duties.

The weather was beautifully fine all the morning; but in hauling round Cape Matapan, which is a bluff rugged point, and entering the Gulf of Colokythia, we were suddenly visited by a heavy thunderstorm,

which burst upon us with such rapidity as scarcely to allow time to take in all sail to meet it. The exertion on my part brought on a relapse of fever, from which I had so recently recovered, and compelled me to return to my cot, leaving the chief officer in charge of the deck.

At night we lay becalmed, without a breath of air, between the Islands of Cervi and Cerigo; and though the scenery was lovely, and the associations of the most romantic and agreeable kind, yet the sense of danger greatly marred the enjoyment of both. The whole of this region was inhabited by a set of pirates calling themselves descendants of the Spartans and Lacedæmonians, and acknowledging no law but force. Calm weather and night is the time of their harvest, for then they steal out of the creeks and bays of which the coast is full, with muffled oars or sweeps, and as soon as they have ascertained the probability that the vessel they are about to attack is comparatively unarmed and unprepared, they immediately board them with overwhelming numbers, and make them an easy prey, beheading and casting into the sea all the crew, and reserving only such of the officers and passengers as are likely to yield them a ransom. A knowledge of these circumstances induced us to be fully prepared for an encounter; and

we had all our carronades cast loose for action, matches lighted, muskets and boarding-pikes on deck, boarding-nettings triced up, and all hands to quarters. Several suspicious craft swept past us, near enough to see these preparations, when they sheered off and held their way, as pirates never fight for the *honour* of conquest, but merely for plunder, and unresisting captives are therefore their chief aim.

At sunrise we were boarded by an officer from a Maltese polacca, having under his convoy a Greek vessel bound for Malta. We learnt from him that at this moment the Archipelago was crowded with pirates, who took their prizes into obscure ports in the Adriatic, where they found a ready sale, after having destroyed all evidence against them by burning the ship's papers, and butchering every creature on board. At sunset another Maltese cruiser, about 300 tons, passed within hail, and sent his boat alongside, informing us that he had on the previous day, a little further to the eastward, engaged a well-armed pirate from daybreak till noon, and ultimately drove her on shore under Cape St. Angelo; but that another lateen-rigged craft, with from eighty to a hundred men on board, and well armed, was lying in wait in a creek under the land, so as not to be visible from

without, to intercept any vessels likely to fall an easy prey.

In consequence of this information our vigilance was increased, and in a couple of hours afterwards word was brought me in my cot, from deck, that the large lateen-rigged pirate described by the Maltese cruiser was in full sweep, under oars and sails, bearing right down upon us. I leaped from my cot in an instant, but fell in the act, when I requested to be taken on deck by two of the crew, and placed on the capstan, from whence I could see all that was passing and give the necessary commands. Most unfortunately, our companion ship, the *Hebe*, was about three miles astern, in a dead calm, while we had a light breeze; and as it was impossible for Captain Brigham, thus fixed in one spot, to bring his ship into action, we had to bear the brunt of the attack alone. It was a perception of this on the part of the pirate that no doubt led him to come out of his hiding place at this particular moment. Our armament was ten carronades, 12-pounders, and a crew of five and twenty men. Had these been all Englishmen we should have been more at our ease; but this being a time of war, scarcely any English seamen could be got for merchant ships, though their wages were 5*l.* a month; for they were constantly liable to be impressed by

any ship of war wanting hands, and made to go and serve the King at twenty-five shillings a month, with the additional privilege of being flogged if they deserted, and hung or shot if they should mutiny against their officers. Our crew was, therefore, like that of all other merchant ships at this period, a very motley one indeed, there being about a dozen Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, all hardy and excellent seamen, three or four Genoese and Venetians, the former the best of all Italian mariners, and the rest made up of Portuguese, French, and Maltese, with a Russian steward; the first and second mate, and a young lad of fifteen, whom I was training to be an officer, being, besides myself, the only English persons in the crew. To protect my wife and her infant daughter from harm, and at the same time to prevent the possibility of their coming on deck during the fray, they were confined to their cabin below, in charge of the steward, and the hatches were then battened down.

At length the pirate came within hail, stem on towards us, as we lay with our courses up, and all sail furled except the topsails, jib, and spanker, just to keep the ship under steerage way. The Greek pilot hailed the pirate, and bade him drop astern or be prepared to receive a broadside. No answer was returned, though his decks were crowded with men.

A second challenge was given, but with no effect,—when the pirate, luffing up his vessel under our lee-quarter, with an evident intention to board us, we fired a broadside of round, grape, and canister right into his decks, with a volley of musketry at the same time. His mainmast instantly fell by the board, with a horrible crash, and killed and wounded in its fall perhaps as many as our broadside had done,—the screams and cries of the dying and wounded being most pitiable to hear. After a moment's pause, the remaining part of the pirate's crew got out their sweeps, and came so close alongside that their grapnell irons were twice hooked in our main chains; and but for the intrepidity and vigilance of the carpenter, who stood at the gangway with his well-sharpened axe, prepared for such an emergency, and who twice cut away the lanyards of their grapnells, so as to render them useless, our decks would have been swept by their overwhelming numbers, and all hands perhaps butchered.

The excitement of the scene so entirely restored my strength, that I jumped from the capstan, where I had been held fast till the first broadside was discharged; and I felt as if I had the strength of twenty men,—so that I had all my faculties perfect for the command. Foiled in his attempt to board us

alongside, the pirate dropped astern, and was now joined by a second vessel of about the same size and number of men, who came up fresh to the combat, while our own crew were greatly exhausted by perpetual watching before the contest began. A couple of broadsides, followed up quickly, caused her so much damage as to induce her to sheer off also, and we were beginning to hope for a conquest; but at this moment, a twelve-pound shot, fired from the second vessel, entered between the timbers in the state room, in which my wife and child had taken shelter below, and cutting away the lanyards of the cot in which the child was lying, the shot, cot, and child came rolling together at her mother's feet! She caught the infant in her arms, with a piercing shriek, which I heard with great dismay on deck, as I thought one or both must have been killed; but on going down I found them only terrified, but not hurt. My wife, however, immediately recovered her presence of mind, and finding I was myself safe, thanked Heaven for our deliverance. I returned immediately to the deck, and found the first of the pirates now assuming a new position, and using her sweeps to approach us under the stern, for the purpose of boarding us over the taffrail. Fortunately, instead of this being our weakest point, as it too often is in merchant ships

especially, it was our strongest, for we had here two long nine-pounders, stern-chasers, which were charged to the muzzle with round, grape, and double-chain shot; and superintending myself the discharge of these, we poured their contents right down on her crowded deck, and must have committed great slaughter, from the cries which immediately arose from the wounded. Unfortunately, in the discharge, one of the guns leaped from its carriage, and in its recoil gave me so severe a wound in the thigh that I was completely disabled from moving, and had to resume my original position on the capstan as before. The pirate retaliated by a volley of musketry, the greater part of which entered the cabin windows, from her being so close under our stern; but just at the moment of this discharge, my wife was in the act of removing herself and her child from the state-room where the cannon-ball had entered, to the after cabin, which she had to cross; and though we counted sixteen musket-balls in the bulkhead by which they passed, not a hair of the head of either of them was hurt! In the meantime, the pirate under our stern had received so much injury in her hull from the discharge of our stern guns, the shot of which had gone through her bottom, that she sunk immediately under our quarter, and all the crew perished by

drowning: for it was impossible to attempt to save them without harbouring the very men who would have cut our throats the moment they were in safety. The second pirate then put out all her oars, and swept away from us with the utmost speed, leaving us the victory, but in a state of such exhaustion and helplessness, that we were quite unequal to any new evolution.

In the course of this furious and obstinate contest, a number of the pirates were cut down in their attempts to board, their bodies falling into the sea, and being crushed by the occasional contact of the vessels' sides, so closely was the action maintained. Others were slain on our own decks, and afterwards consigned to the deep; but from the circumstance of none of our own crew ever venturing from the deck of their own ship, being all charged to act on the defensive, not one of the whole number was killed, though more than half the crew were wounded with musketry, splinters, and sabre cuts, some few severely. The decks were covered with blood; and the wreck of shattered bulwarks, stranded rigging, split sails, and general dilapidation was so great, that it was matter of surprise to us how a single gun could have been worked efficiently amidst the darkness and confusion that prevailed. The loss of the enemy, on the

other hand, must have been considerable, as their crews were so thick that it was impossible for either a cannon-ball or musket-shot to pass among them without killing several in their passage.

It took us great part of the remainder of the night to clear away the wreck occasioned by our conflict, and bind up the wounds of the disabled; and when this was done, the exhausted crew were so overcome with fatigue, that a cock-boat might have made an easy prize of us, as scarcely an eye could resist the influence of that sleep to which all had been now for so many hours strangers. For myself, the excitement being over, my fever returned, and soon after, my delirium. But while I was confined to my cot, Mrs. Buckingham, the Russian steward, and my young pupil, Edward Lyons, the only individuals not prostrated by exertion, kept watch on deck, while every one else was absorbed in the profoundest slumber; and happily the calm which prevailed rendering no evolutions necessary, this was all the watch that was required.

On returning to the possession of my reason, I felt deep sorrow for the necessity under which I had been placed, as it seemed to me, of assisting to destroy so many of my fellow creatures; for my opinions respecting the criminality as well as folly of war, when

aggressive, were quite in harmony with those of Lady Mary Wortley Montague and Benjamin Franklin, as quoted in a previous chapter; and indeed I might say a higher authority than both—our blessed Saviour himself, in his precepts as promulgated through the Gospel. Willingly did I seek release from the responsibility of such destruction, in the consideration that we were not the aggressors, and that in my own peculiar position I could hardly, with justice to others, have acted otherwise than I had done; and this was the train of reasoning that helped to calm my mind. I considered that from the day I took command of the ship from her owners, I became responsible for the safety of the property committed by them to my care, as well as to the various merchants who had placed their goods on board to form the cargo, the whole probably of 50,000*l.* in value. I considered also that every seaman who had consented to join the crew, looked up to me for the protection of his life, to the utmost of my means, in any position of danger that might arise; and, above all, that I was doubly bound, as a husband and father, to prevent, if possible, the violation and murder of my wife and child. My own life I might, perhaps, have been free to sacrifice (though that even is a doubtful point; and if we have no right to take it away by our own

hands, we can have no right to resign it without a struggle, into the hands of others); but as to the lives and property placed under my care, and the charge of which I had knowingly and voluntarily undertaken, my conclusion was that I had no right whatever to sacrifice these, and that, therefore, I was bound to do my utmost to protect both; especially against assailants who knew no law of mercy, but whose maxim and practice is to sink, burn, and destroy, and then to murder even those who surrender.

It continued calm all the following day, and by sunset the crew were sufficiently refreshed by repose and food to resume their duties as usual, though, from the number of the men disabled in the fight, our effective force was reduced to twelve hands only. At night I was sufficiently recovered to be taken on deck, to enjoy the delicious coolness so agreeable after a sultry day; and as the slight swell of the water made the moonbeams rest alternately on the surface of each rising ridge, I felt the full force and beauty of Moore's exquisite simile.

"See, how beneath the moon-beam's smile
Yon little billow heaves its breast,
And foams and sparkles for awhile,
And, murmuring, then retires to rest.

"Thus man, the sport of bliss and care,
Rises on Time's eventful sea,
And having swelled a moment there,
Thus melts into eternity."

As the night advanced, our troubles were renewed; at sunrise it began to blow freshly, increasing in force, and by noon we had strong gales from the northward, and were carrying all sail to keep off a lee shore. We now discovered the bowsprit to be sprung; and from the press of sail necessary to keep our course, we carried away the main-stay, and parted the fore and main swifters and back-stays, sprung the fore top-mast a little above the cap, and parted some of the standing rigging aloft, which had been injured by musket-shot in the action of the preceding night. We accordingly sent down the top-gallant yards on deck, housed the masts, close-reefed the fore top-sail, and made the ship snug, it blowing harder and harder, with a high running sea throughout the day.

At daybreak on the following morning, we saw the islands of Christiana under our lee-bow; but from the strength of the gale, we were not able to weather them, and accordingly we bore up and ran to leeward of them, hauling in for Santorin, intending to anchor under its shore; but the extreme depth of water

rendered the experiment hazardous, and we therefore still kept the sea.

This island presents a remarkable appearance on every side, it being one of a group of three that have been thrown up from the bottom of the sea by volcanic action, within the historical period. Its first appearance above the level of the water was in the year 169 before the Christian era; and other subsequent submarine eruptions added to the group in the years 47, 1373, 1427, and so recently as 1711, the lava of which, at the bottom of some of the largest crevices, is still said to retain a great deal of its primitive heat; and, as on the slopes of Etna and Vesuvius, the soil covering this lava is everywhere remarkably fertile.

The weather continued so stormy that it was more like a Baltic winter gale than a summer in the Mediterranean; and in our disabled state both of men and materials, we were kept stretching across from west to east and east to west again, losing ground on every tack, till we were nearly driven on shore on the northern coast of the great Island of Candia or Crete. Here, the celebrity of Mount Ida—the history of the poet Orpheus—of the king Idomeneus, who conducted a fleet to the assistance of Agamemnon at Troy—of its laws serving as the model for the republic of

Lycurgus — of its intricate labyrinth, and the story of Theseus and Ariadne — of its conquest by Julius Cæsar, and the defeat of Marc Antony — and, lastly, its memorable siege by the Turks, and heroic defence by the Venetians, during a period of twenty-five years — all formed materials for reflection and study. It was here, too, that Falconer the poet describes the *Britannia* as anchoring just previous to her perilous voyage among the Cyclades, and where he laments the devastation caused by the Turkish invasion.

"Eternal powers! what ruin from afar
Marks the fell track of desolating war!
Here arts and commerce with auspicious reign
Once breathed sweet influence o'er the happy plain;
For wealth, for valour, courted and revered,
What Albion is, fair Candia then appeared.
But since the spirit of her sons is broke,
They bow to Ottoman's imperious yoke."

As the weather moderated, we repaired our damages day by day, and were enabled to carry more sail, by which we threaded our way up through the northern islands of the Archipelago, every one of which had its mythology, its poetry, and its history to interest us, but especially Delos, Nicaria, and Samos, all of which we passed in our course.

Considering the reputation of Delos, its small size and insignificant appearance is disappointing. It was renowned as the birthplace of Apollo, whose oracle at Delphi was celebrated throughout the ancient world; and the remains of a temple to that deity, with a colossal statue, a noble portico, and a fine marble theatre, yet remaining at the foot of Mount Cynthus, where the twins of Latona were brought forth under an olive tree, still testify to its ancient grandeur. Ovid calls the island Erratica Delos, and Virgil calls it a floating island first fixed by Apollo. Herodotus informs us of the remarkable fact that even the Persians were overawed by the sacredness of the spot; and when they had approached the island with six hundred sail of their ships, they were struck with reverence, and forbore their intended depredations, to which the poet Polwhele, a country clergyman of Cornwall, whom I had the happiness to know, beautifully alludes, in his exquisite little poem of Grecian Prospects.

"Where Delos trembles on her desert wave,
Rose there a rock but breathed religion round?
Hath ancient Echo murmured from her cave,
Nor Inspiration swelled the sacred sound?
Witness her fane, with holier shades embrowned,

Her proud colossal gods, that, hovering near,
Paled Persia saw, nor touched the hallowed ground,
But sudden, as she dropped th' uplifted spear,
Her sails innumerous checked, and paused in mid career."

Andros is a large island, and remarkably fertile. Tino, close by, is celebrated, according to Eton, for its female beauty. "In Tino," he says, "the women are almost all beauties, and there the true antique head is to be found." Nicaria, which divides the Egean from the Icarian Sea, is the scene of the story of Dædalus and Icarus. Though the island of Nicaria is comparatively unproductive in its soil by land, the inhabitants derive subsistence from their labours beneath the sea, in diving for sponges, and inhabiting the caverns with which their rocky shores abound. Thevenot, the French traveller, mentions a singular custom among them. "The richest men in the island," says he, "give their daughters to the best divers, who are tried before the maid and her father, and he who remains longest under water wins her." Of such men it is no figure of speech, but a literal fact, to say that they may be "over head and ears in love." Thevenot adds that "the women have the ascendancy; and as soon as the husband arrives from any place in his boat, the wife goes to the sea-

side, takes the oars and carries them home, after which the husband can dispose of nothing without her permission."

The Island of Samos, which we approached while standing to the eastward, is larger in area, and its interior much loftier than most of the group to which it belongs. It is also fertile, and abounds in all the fruits of this delicious region. It enjoyed great celebrity in antiquity, having been colonised by the Ionians more than a thousand years before Christ. It was deemed the birthplace of Juno, from whence she dispatched her messenger Iris, upon the wings of the rainbow, whose office it was to unloose the souls of dying women from the chains of the body. The island was subdued by the Athenians under Pericles, and a statue of Alcibiades was erected within the precincts of the Temple of Juno, some remains of which still exist. Horace alludes to the beauty of Samos and its various works of art. Antony and Cleopatra passed some months here in luxurious enjoyment, and Augustus twice wintered here, and granted the citizens many immunities; yet, such are the vicissitudes of fortune, that Knowles, in his History of the Turks, describes it as desolate and uninhabited in 1472. Its chief celebrity, however, arises from its being the birthplace and home of Pytha-

goras, who became a voluntary exile from the tyranny of Polycrates, and travelling in Egypt and Greece propounded his remarkable doctrines among the sages of Heliopolis and Athens, and founded his school at Crotona and Sybaris, in Magna Grecia, from whence his disciples spread his fame through the world. Moore, in his irregular ode "The Genius of Harmony," which we read here in sight of the island, has a beautiful passage, alluding to the intercourse of Pythagoras with Heaven, and his inspiration at the fount of Nature; and in another of his classical pieces, "The Grecian Girl's Dream of the Blessed Isles, addressed to her Lover," where she relates having met in Elysium, Liontium, Pythea, and Aspasia, in whose soft embraces Epicurus, Aristotle, and Socrates, their respective admirers, forgot the toil of "less endearing ties," he introduces the beloved of Pythagoras, with an exquisite allusion to his great doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

> "While fair Theano, innocently fair,
> Played with the ringlets of her Samian's hair,
> Who, fixed by love, at length was all her own,
> And passed his spirit thro' her lips alone."

In modern days, Samos is as celebrated for its sponges as Nicaria; and an old voyager to the Levant

in 1664, Sir H. Blunt, gives us, in the quaint language of his day, the following account of Samos, as he found it.—"Samos," he says, "is a place under whose rocks grow sponges: the people from their infancy, are bred up with dry bisket and other extenuating dyet, to make them extremely lean: then, taking a sponge wet with oyle, they hold it part in their mouths and part without: so go they under water, where at first they cannot stay long; but after practice, some of the leanest stay an hour and half, even until all the oyle in the sponge be corrupted; and by the law of the island none of that trade is suffered to marry until he have stayed half-an-hour under water: that they gather sponges from the bottom of the rocks more than a hundred fathoms deep; which, with the other stories of the islands, was told me by certain Greeks in our galleon." It is clear from some parts of this, that the Greeks of that day were not inferior to their descendants in the art of exaggeration: though the substratum of the account has, no doubt, some truth in it.

We at length, after much tedious tacking and beating to windward, reached the southern entrance to the Straits of Scio, where we caught a fair wind; and our passage through this delightful arm of the sea, though by night, was as agreeable as that of the

preceding voyage,—indeed, nothing could be more bright or beautiful than the marine picture on every side.

> "'Twas one of those delicious nights,
> So common in the climes of Greece,
> When day withdraws but half its lights,
> And all is moonlight, balm, and peace.

As we made our exit from the Straits at the north end, and rounded our course up the Bay of Smyrna, we hailed a homeward-bound vessel just coming out of port, and asked the captain, "What news?" To which he replied through his speaking trumpet, with Spartan brevity, "Damned bad!"—and on further inquiring in what respect, he bluffly answered, "The plague is raging, and people are dying like rotten sheep,—a thousand a day at least." This was, indeed, very discouraging intelligence after our rough passage and severe handling by the pirates; but there was no retreating, so we sailed up to the anchorage, brought up among the shipping; and then taking Mrs. Buckingham and her infant daughter with me in the ship's boat, I conveyed them safely to the village of Bournabat, there to remain until the plague should abate. I had to come into Smyrna myself, however, to attend to the business of the ship,

day by day, and return to them at night; by which we were all more happy than we should have been had we been lodged anywhere in the city, where the plague continued to rage, though the villages were as yet tolerably free from its scourge.

CHAP. IV.

Agreeable stay at Smyrna notwithstanding the plague.—Practical proofs of its non-contagious character.—Visit of Mrs. Buckingham to the harem of the Governor. — Singular notions of Asiatics as to female beauty. — Adventure on horseback, and narrow escape. — Friendly intercourse with Captain Hope of the *Salsette*. — Dramatic entertainment given on board the frigate.—Admiral Hope, his practical piety and benevolence.—Arrival of Sir William Ousely from Persia. — Mr. Price the Oriental scholar. — Learned shoemakers. — Excursion to Scio, the birthplace of Homer. — Beauty of the women and longevity of the men.—Visit to Cheshmé, the Erythæan and Cumæan Sybil.

Our stay at Smyrna was as agreeable as it was possible to desire, notwithstanding our first alarm at the raging of the plague. But it is astonishing how all dangers of this description are magnified by distance from the scene, and how they diminish in importance when actually amidst them. In the Turkish quarter of the city—where there are neither sewers, drains, water, or ventilation—where medicine and medical attendance are neither sought after nor valued, nor could be had, indeed, if ever so much desired, — where no adaptation of diet or change of

raiment is ever thought of in a sanitary point of view; and where the settled conviction of every one is, that the hour of their death is fixed by Fate, and can neither be accelerated nor retarded,—the deaths were so numerous that the living were hardly sufficient to bury the dead. But as there are no registrations of deaths or burials in Turkey, the computed numbers varied from one thousand to five thousand per day, out of a population of about a hundred and eighty thousand in all — the former being, perhaps, not far from the truth. In the Frank quarter — where the streets are broader, and where ventilation, water, and cleanliness obtain, where medical advice is at hand, and where precautions are taken — the deaths were very few; and in the surrounding villages, inhabited chiefly by Christians and Europeans, the plague was unknown. The merchants, therefore, who had houses in the country went into town in the morning, transacted their usual business in their counting-houses, and went even into the Turkish quarter if required, at the Custom-house and elsewhere with impunity, without apprehension and without danger, for not one of all their number was attacked by the plague during our stay. It was this practical proof of the non-contagiousness of this terrible disorder, or its communicability from a diseased to a healthy subject,

by personal contact, which first led me to investigate the subject of the quarantine laws, and ended in the conviction that they were inefficacious, unnecessary, vexatious, ruinously expensive, and ought to be entirely abolished; to which effect I subsequently wrote, as will be hereafter shown; and to which conviction, after a lapse of nearly forty years from this period, the statesmen of England appear at length to have arrived.

From the infrequency of the visits of English ladies to Smyrna, and from her many attractive and amiable qualities, my wife became a universal favourite among all the Levantines, that is, families of European origin, but of Asiatic birth and connections, and her really beautiful and intelligent child was the object of interest and admiration. From being a great favourite with the Greek pilot, who had her frequently in his arms in the intervals of duty, she had acquired enough of Italian and Greek to be able to hold imperfect communication with children of her own age among the Levantine families, and this increased to such facility by daily intercourse and practice, that she spoke both these tongues fluently before the end of our stay.

Two or three incidents connected with our sojourn at Bournabat and Smyrna, during this period, may

be selected from a number perhaps equally deserving of record.

The first was Mrs. Buckingham's visit to the harem of the Governor of Smyrna. Some of the Levantine ladies who had access to the Governor's family, had mentioned my wife and daughter in such glowing terms, that the chief lady of the harem expressed a desire to see them; and a day was appointed for the visit, accompanied by ladies of their acquaintance, who spoke Turkish, and could therefore act as interpreters. The party were admitted into the principal entrance of the garden which surrounded the governor's house, by the chief of the eunuchs; and as they approached the palace, they saw a number of these repulsive attendants planted in different quarters, to prevent the possibility of any intrusion from male visitors. Ascending to the harem, which was a spacious apartment, with a fountain in the centre, and highly adorned according to Turkish taste, they were received by the chief lady of the Governor, and a number of young and handsome Georgian and Circassian female slaves. Pipes and coffee, perfumes and sherbet, conserve of roses and delicious fruits were served in abundance, and every possible mark of respect paid to the visitors. When conversation began, the first observation of the

Turkish lady was an exclamation of surprise at the slender waist of my wife, and still more when informed that she was the mother of the child who accompanied her. She could not comprehend how the human figure could be compressed into such a compass, and asked to be permitted to examine the dress, which was accordingly granted. On arriving, however, at the stays, and seeing the manner in which it was tightly laced, her wonder was at the climax; nor could she be made to comprehend how a person could breathe freely or enjoy any movements of the body, "cased up and imprisoned," as she called it, "in such a tight sack as this." Still greater was her surprise to learn that a slender figure was regarded as a feminine trait of beauty esteemed by men, and therefore sought to be attained by women even where Nature had denied it. In short, the horror with which we look upon the cramped feet of the women of China, could not be greater than that in which this English custom was viewed by the Turks. It should be added, however, that their standard of beauty is in the opposite extreme; both in Africa and Asia, women are "fattened up" to the requisite size for male admiration, as we fatten our prize cattle, which gave Volney occasion to say that the Turks value beauty by the quintal—one of their measures

of weight; and he quotes a verse from a Turkish poet, who eulogises the object of his admiration in these glowing terms:

> "Her face is like the full moon,
> And her haunches are like cushions."

Another incident was this. Our kind friend, Mr. James Brant, (since, I believe, consul at Erzeroum, and now consul at Smyrna,) was an accomplished horseman, and kept several beautiful Arabs for himself and friends; and Mrs. Buckingham being an excellent horsewoman, from her country education and experience, a party was formed of some half dozen gentlemen, to accompany us in a ride over the beautiful plain that extends along the foot of the mountains behind Smyrna. On our return from this excursion, while approaching the sea-shore, we encountered a party of young Turks, to whom the sight of a woman on horseback, unveiled, in the company of men, appeared such a public scandal, that one of them approached behind the Arab on which my wife was mounted, and gave it a smart cut across the haunches with the courbash, or short flexible whip of the hippopotamus hide, with which Turkish horsemen are generally furnished. The

generous steed, full of blood and vigour, never having, perhaps, received such a blow before, (for the Asiatics, generally, are humane in their treatment of animals), first resented the indignity by flinging his hind heels in the air, and projecting a backward kick, during which my wife had nearly lost her seat, and then set off as fast as his legs could carry him in a gallop which it was impossible for her to restrain. The gentlemen — of course myself among the number — could not but keep up with her, in case of accident; and the faster we followed the faster her steed endeavoured to fly from us. Her head-dress now became loose; and first flew off the bonnet, next all the combs of the hair, which being long and ample, floated horizontally behind her head from the mere force of her passage through the air; and on arriving at the sea-shore, where, fortunately, there was a shelving beach, and where we hoped the mad career of the indignant steed would have been arrested, he plunged into the sea, and swam out at least a quarter of a mile with his firm and intrepid rider. Fatigue, however, at length subdued his impetuosity, and he then answered the bit by turning gently round — swimming to the shore — and as he gained the land stood trembling at the edge of the water while some of us patted his neck, and the rest

helped my wife to dismount, and congratulated her on her horsemanship and her safety.

Another and more agreeable incident was this. The *Salsette* frigate, which was absent on a cruise when we first reached the port, had subsequently arrived; and Mr. Brant, knowing nothing of what had passed between her commander, Captain Hope, and myself on the previous voyage, as described at page 17., invited him to meet us and spend the evening together. The gallant officer, as sailors always are, was most attentive and complimentary to Mrs. Buckingham, and full of admiration for her little daughter, who, now nearly four years of age, was well-behaved in company, and always invited with us wherever we went. I remarked, however, that the captain regarded me with that sort of attention which would seem to say, "I *think* we have met somewhere before, but can't exactly call to mind the time or place." I thought it, therefore, best at once to clear up all ambiguity, by stating to him who I was, and recalling the circumstances of our interview. At first he blushed, and seemed embarrassed; when I gave such a turn to the matter as relieved him from all anxiety, and we enjoyed a hearty laugh over the story. But he made ample amends for all, by inviting us to an entertainment which he proposed to

get up for our special enjoyment on board his frigate, and which we gladly accepted. It should be understood, that in those days, the captain of a man-of-war condescending to invite or entertain on board his ship the captain of a merchantman, would have been regarded as a rare act of condescension; and it was an honour which many of my brother captains greatly envied me.

On the day appointed we repaired on board the frigate, where we met a most distinguished and agreeable company to dinner: and the half deck being fitted up as a stage, a comedy and farce were admirably represented by the officers and seamen of the crew. As the height between decks was only about seven feet, there was not much space for scenery, machinery, and decorations; but these were not necessary to the enjoyment of the audience, which consisted of all the officers, and as many of the crew as could by possibility so place themselves in any position as to get a sight of the acting, by which crowding all the avenues for air were blocked up, and we were gasping for breath. The hardy tars went through their parts, nevertheless, with perfect self-possession; and though the female characters were necessarily most imperfectly represented by rough, hairy-bosomed, and brawny-armed seamen,

the whole passed off to the intense satisfaction of actors and spectators.

An anecdote was current here, connected with Captain Hope's visit to Athens, which is strikingly characteristic of the force of curiosity when excited, even among the most uneducated, by the stories of ancient times. The *Salsette* being anchored at the Piræus, Captain Hope and some of his officers went up to visit Athens; but gave the strictest charge to the coxswain of his cutter, not to venture himself nor permit any of the boat's crew to venture to land, as they might get into trouble with the Turks there. The desire, however, to do what was expressly forbidden, became, with the coxswain, perfectly irresistible; and in defiance of his captain's injunctions, and with the probability of being flogged for his transgression, he sent the boat's crew aboard, to return in the evening; and went himself alone up to Athens also. While wandering among its ancient ruins and modern dwellings, to his great surprise and horror he met his captain at the turning of a street, so close, as to make concealment or escape impossible. They both stood silent for a short while in mutual surprise, when the captain first broke silence, by saying, — "Why, is it possible, after my strict command, that I find you up here, where you were

expressly forbidden to come? What on earth brought you here? — who or what did you come to see? — and what excuse have you to offer for your conduct?" To which the coxswain, taking off his hat as a mark of humility and respect, coolly replied: — "Why, Sir, I thought I might never be so near to it again; and, therefore, I came up to see the 'Wooden Horse of Troy,' about which I read in a story-book a long time ago!" The good-natured captain was perfectly disarmed by this frank and unexpected reply; and did not even wound the coxswain's feelings by correcting his historical knowledge, but simply said, — "Well, when you have seen it, my good fellow, go aboard and describe it to your shipmates." With most captains of the navy the truant coxswain would have been subjected to some punishment; but it was no doubt the wisest policy thus to attach him still more strongly to his commander by kindness.

During the remainder of our stay in Smyrna, Captain Hope did all in his power to add to our enjoyments, by boating and other excursions; and we felt ourselves largely indebted to his good nature and politeness for a great share of our pleasures. The gallant officer is now Admiral Hope, resident in London, and distinguished for his piety and benevolence, which is manifested by his frequent and liberal

contributions to almost every religious or philanthropic object proposed, and especially towards the formation and support of those Seamen's Homes, so long wanted but happily now becoming so frequent, to protect the unsuspecting mariner from the traps and pitfalls by which he is surrounded on his first landing in every port of the kingdom, and shelter him from the temptations to evil, and stimulate him by the attractions to good. Long may the worthy veteran survive, to continue his useful and honourable labours, for the benefit of his fellow-seamen and an example to the rest of mankind!

During my stay at Smyrna on this occasion there arrived here, by a journey overland from Persia, Sir William Ousely, a great Oriental antiquary and scholar, brother of Sir Gore Ousely, then Ambassador at the Persian Court. He was accompanied by Mr. Price, as his travelling secretary or companion. The contrast between these two persons was very striking. Sir William was a perfect gentleman of the old school, aristocratic in appearance and bearing, courteous and polished in manners, and full of general information. Mr. Price, who we understood was originally a shoemaker, had imbibed an intense desire to become acquainted with Oriental languages, and, under immense disadvantages had, by great labour

and perseverance, mastered the Hebrew and Arabic, and made some progress in Persian, when being introduced to Sir William Ousely, before his leaving England, the worthy baronet consented to take him with him and pay all his expenses. Mr. Price retained all his original rusticity of manners and appearance, and was so entirely engrossed with his studies as a linguist that he appeared to know nothing else, though no doubt he was a great proficient in these.

By the way, it is remarkable how many clever men and scholars have been produced by this class of workmen, which some attribute to the sedentary yet social nature of their occupations, as they sit round a small table in parties of four or six to labour, and can carry on all their operations and enjoy uninterrupted interchange of thought and conversation at the same time. Among the rest may be mentioned Dr. Carey and Dr. Marsham, the learned missionaries of Serampore, who translated the Bible into many eastern tongues, and wrote admirable books besides;—Dr. Morrison, the most eminent Chinese scholar, to whom we owe the best Dictionary and Grammar of that singular language;—Gifford, the translator of Juvenal, and for many years the editor of the Quarterly Review;—and, though last not least, Samuel Drew, of St. Austell, in Cornwall, the author of one of the

profoundest metaphysical essays on the immortality of the soul;—and Mr. Price, the Oriental scholar and companion of Sir William Ousely.

On our first introduction to these newly arrived travellers, Sir William was immediately enamoured of our little daughter Virginia, who, he said, was an almost exact resemblance of a child of his own, whom he had left in England, and whom he soon hoped to see again. Accordingly he was never more happy than when he had her in his arms, and they would sometimes pass hours together to their mutual satisfaction. In an excursion which we made to the Island of Scio, in the *Salsette* frigate, which conveyed Sir William and Mr. Price to Malta, the learned baronet carried the child in his arms through the streets of Scio, and appeared to feel the greatest delight in stopping at the doors of many of the Greek inhabitants, where the females were thickly congregated to see the strangers pass, and enjoying the admiration and caresses of the mothers and daughters of Scio as much as if the child had been his own, while to us it was most agreeable to see the springs of parental sympathy thus freely flowing, and Nature triumphant over all conventionalities.

Scio, or Chios as it was anciently called, besides being one of the most fertile and beautiful of all the

Greek islands, has great historical celebrity. It is generally recognised as the birthplace of Homer; for though, according to the poet,—

"Seven cities now contend for Homer dead,
Through which the living Homer begged his bread,"

yet Chios is admitted to have the supremacy, and hence the line—

"See the blind Bard of Chios' rocky isle."

The family of the Homeridæ, as his descendants were called, undoubtedly dwelt in Chios, and Leo Allatius gives abundant evidence of this; while Homer himself, in his Hymn to Apollo, addresses the god from his native island Chios. Ion, also an elegiac poet of the age of Æschylus and Sophocles, was a native Chian.

The modern town of Scio is one of the largest and best built in all the Archipelago. The inhabitants of the island are computed at 150,000, of which the Turks form only a fortieth part; and yet this minority rule the majority with a rod of iron, and carry off a heavy tribute to Constantinople every year in the corn, wine, oil, silk, gum mastic, fruits, and honey, which the labour of the Greeks and the fertility of the soil produce in abundance. The English traveller Dallaway justly praises the beauty of its

female inhabitants. "As we walked through the town," he says, "on a Sunday evening, the streets were filled with women, dancing, or sitting at their doors in groups, dressed in the fashion of the island. The girls have most brilliant complexions, with regular and delicate features. The ringlets which are so elegantly disposed round the sweet countenances of the fair Chiotes, are such as Milton describes by "hyacinthine locks," crisped and curled like the blossom of that flower, while their faces are lovely, and their eyes varying with infinite variety of expression, from tenderness and softness to animation and vivacity." As a proof of the salubrity of the climate, longevity is very common. Among other instances, Dallaway mentions his being accosted at a fountain by a venerable old man who said he was 120 years of age, and that he had a son now living who was eighty, and had recently become a father. He acknowledged that there were many older men in Scio than himself, but none who like him had been preferred, as he could boast to have lately been, by a girl of twenty to a rival of her own age! We saw quite as much female beauty as Dallaway describes, and several instances of hale and hearty men above a century old; and Sir William Ousely admitted that though there was a great deal of female beauty

among the Persian women of Shiraz and Ispahan, he thought the palm of excellence was with the Greeks.

From Scio we crossed the Straits to pay a hasty visit to the port of Cheshmé, on the coast of Asia Minor. Its present importance arises solely from its being one of the places at which ships from Smyrna occasionally touch to take on board dried fruits, figs, and raisins, to save the expense of freight or carriage to the larger port. Anciently it was the port of Cyssus, where the fleet of Antiochus was defeated by the Romans, and more recently, in 1772, it was memorable as the scene of the entire destruction of the Turkish fleet by a Russian squadron under an English commander. Erythræ, famous for a sybil, and Mount Menias, on the summit of which Anaxagoras built an observatory, were only a few miles to the north of Cyssus or Cheshmé. The Erythræan sybil, and the sybil of Cumæ in Italy, were the same. Her oracular communications were placed by Tarquin in the Capitol, and burnt by accident during the war of Marius and Sylla; and it is said that the Emperor Augustus deputed three ambassadors to Erythræ, to procure genuine transcriptions, but they collected only mysterious verses known by oral tradition.

We were courteously entertained by the English vice-consul at Cheshmé, a Greek, whose young wife

we thought even more beautiful than any of the women we had seen at Scio, and whom it was impossible to regard without being fascinated; but the husband appeared more jealous than pleased at the manifestations of our admiration. We here parted from our Oriental friends, Sir William Ousely and Mr. Price, who took their departure for Malta, while we returned to Smyrna.

CHAP. V.

Sail from Smyrna with a companion, the *Hermes*. — Terrific hail-storm, and loss of topmast on the African coast.—Repair of damages, and arrival at Gibraltar. — Narrow escape from being wrecked on Cape Finisterre. —Arrival in the Thames. — Stangate Creek. — Quarantine. — Seamen prevented from hanging the carpenter at the yard-arm. — Absurdity and inefficiency of the Laws of Quarantine.

Our business at Smyrna being completed, and our cargo of valonea, madder-roots, raw silk, dried fruits, and wines, being all on board, we sailed from the Bay, in company with the ship *Hermes*, Captain Williams, for London direct. As expedition in the voyage was of great importance, I conceived that we might shorten it by some days if, instead of pursuing the usual course after reaching Cape Bon, in Africa, we kept close along the African coast, and availed ourselves of the land and sea breezes, blowing alternately night and day on that hot and sandy region, instead of being carried to the northward on the coast of Spain, and having often to beat down from thence to the Straits of Gibraltar against contrary winds. My

companion assenting to this arrangement, we pursued that course after passing through the Archipelago and by Malta in the usual track.

As we sailed along the African coast from the projecting portion where the ruins of Carthage are situated, towards Bona, a sandy and desolate track, we heard during the night the roar of the lions, loud, distinct, and thrilling, amid the otherwise dead silence of all around; and between Bona and Algiers we experienced one of the most terrific hail-storms that it was ever my lot to encounter, before or since. We were under full sail, with single reefed topsails and topgallant sails set, and staysails all drawing, with the wind off the land on our larboard beam, when with a suddenness like that of the white squalls in the Indian seas, there burst upon us such a gust of wind as carried the main-topmast away by the board before a sail could be clewed up, and laid the ship on her starboard beam-ends. At the same time the hail-stones came down as large as pigeon's eggs, and with sharp, ragged edges, like fragments of broken ice, cutting the faces and hands of all on whom they fell, driving the men from the helm, and causing all the crew to run for shelter under the booms, in the forecastle, or wherever else the hail could not reach them. It was a period of intense anxiety, and I ex-

pected every moment to see the hatches filled and the ship go to the bottom; but after as sudden a lull, when the fury of the hail-storm was spent, the men repaired to their duty; and by throwing overboard our lee-guns, clearing away the wreck of the main-topmast, gathering in all the after-sail, and hoisting the flying jib, we got the ship round before the wind, when she righted with a violent oscillation that nearly capsised us on the other side.

Our main business now was to get up a new main-topmast and topgallant mast, with their proper yards and rigging before we could make sail; and as we had only one carpenter on board, and the wood-work of the maintop had been torn away by the fall of the mast, we made signal to our companion for assistance in this respect. Instead of answering it, however, which he probably would have done had there been any imminent danger of our foundering, he profited by our misfortune to crowd all sail, and leave us to our own resources; the motive being sheer avarice, as he was part owner of the ship and cargo; as, if he could reach the Thames a few days before us, he would command the early market, and increase his profit by perhaps ten or fifteen per cent. We were all indignant at such shabby treatment, but resolved to do our best to overtake him nevertheless.

A new difficulty now arose. Our carpenter had been wounded in the head, in a ship of war, and had been invalided on that account; and though when sober he was a valuable and well-behaved man, the slightest quantity of liquor affected his brain, and made him as capricious and wayward as a spoiled child. He had taken an extra glass of grog, just after the hail-storm, and now declared that he had been so bruised by the fall of the main-topmast that he was quite unable to go aloft or do any work in the main-top. The sailors, not believing his story, stripped him perfectly naked, and not the least sign of a bruise or hurt of any kind was found on his body; so they determined that if he would not go into the main-top himself he should be hoisted there. I approved of this determination, being persuaded that he had put forth a false pretence. A sling was accordingly made, by which the carpenter and his tools were hoisted together into the main-top; and he was then told that he should have nothing to eat or drink till he began to work, nor permitted to leave the top till he had finished it. He continued as obstinate as a mule, so that the seamen had to do his duty and their own too, and not waiting for his assistance, very speedily and cleverly repaired the woodwork, got up the spare topmast, and topgallant-mast,

crossed the yards, bent the sails, and had everything in perfect order by sunset, when we made sail and continued our course. The carpenter, however, was kept in the top all night, and next morning pretended to be dying of hunger, thirst, and fatigue. This too was believed to be a sham, for it was not more than eighteen hours since he had made a hearty meal, and of fatigue he had none. But considering it possible that he might jump overboard in his frenzy, or die of chagrin and passion, and that, in such a case, an indictment might lie against us all as the authors of his death, I thought it best to release him, greatly to the mortification of the crew; and he was lowered down and sent to his hammock accordingly.

Being favoured with a fresh and fair wind, we crowded every stitch of canvas, and just overtook our companion as she was rounding Point Europa to go into the bay of Gibraltar, there to fill up her water for the remainder of the voyage. As we stood in need of the same supply, we anchored here for a similar purpose; and to save time got all our empty casks on deck during the night for the purpose of sending them on shore at daylight to be filled, so that our decks were literally crowded. At daylight, however, to our astonishment we saw the *Hermes* getting under way, either having come into port as a feint to

deceive us, or not needing the supply of water as supposed; when I immediately appealed to the crew, placed before them the treacherous conduct of our companion, who thus sought to steal a march upon us, and reach the Thames in advance, and asked them whether they would consent to be put on half allowance of water for the rest of the voyage, rather than be thus beaten or overreached. They answered the proposal with three hearty cheers. We accordingly got under way immediately, without even waiting to replace our empty water casks in the hold till we got clear of the Straits; but by sunset we had everything put to rights, and the *Hermes*, still in sight, but hull-down, ahead of us. Our next consideration was how to cut her off by shortening our route; though we had heard while at Gibraltar of the war with America (proclaimed since our leaving England), and that the British Channel already swarmed with American privateers, which we were certainly in no condition to encounter, having thrown overboard all our starboard guns when laid on our beam ends off the coast of Africa, and lost, also, the support which our late companion, better armed and better manned than ourselves, would have afforded us. Nevertheless, with that firmness of resolve which is characteristic of seamen everywhere, we de-

termined to run all hazards rather than be beaten in the race. In shaping our course, therefore, for the Channel, instead of keeping the usual offing for the coast of Spain and Portugal, to avoid being embayed in the Bay of Biscay, I directed a course which should just round Cape Finisterre within two or three miles only, and gave special injunctions to the officer of the watch for a vigilant look-out as we approached that promontory. Unfortunately these orders were but very imperfectly observed, and we were within a stone's throw of being wrecked on the Cape itself. Just before daybreak, I was awakened by the extraordinary silence that prevailed, for I had gone to sleep amid the ordinary noises of the deck, (and it is a fact sufficiently familiar to all seamen, that any remarkable change, whether from noise to silence or silence to noise, motion to stillness or stillness to motion, will awake the soundest sleeper,) so jumping on deck to learn the cause of this change, I found the officer of the watch asleep, the man at the wheel in a sort of stupor or dosing, the ship rocking from the rebound of the breakers on the shore, and the bluff cliffs of Cape Finisterre just appearing through the morning mist, as if directly overhead. It was a fearful moment, as we were literally in the jaws of death, and five minutes more our destruction

would have been inevitable; but by rousing the few hands on deck, throwing all aback at the risk of our masts, and aided by the off swell of the recoiling waves, we happily escaped, though it was many days before I was entirely free from the sensations that this hair-breadth escape occasioned.

Our course up Channel was rapid, from the strong south-west gales that blew, and we arrived off Dover just after sunset in a dark December day, where firing a gun and making the usual signal for a pilot with lighted lanthorns at the peak, we soon received one on board, who was terrified, however, at learning that we had a foul bill of health, and that the plague raged at Smyrna when we left it, though none of the men had suffered the least illness during the voyage. The fact, however, of our not having a clean bill of health obliged us to run through the Downs with the yellow flag and a black ball in the centre, denoting the plague spot, at the main, and anchor in Stangate Creek, the usual quarantine ground, instead of proceeding direct to London.

It was Saturday afternoon when we reached the anchorage; and after the sails were furled and all made snug, the usual enjoyment of "Saturday night at sea," was allowed to the crew, in the double allowance of all their provisions for the day, not

omitting the means of drinking the healths of their "Sweethearts and Wives." In the cabin, we were seated round a brisk coal fire, and a bright brass stove, which our Russian steward prided himself in keeping like a mirror; and the pilot, and chief officer, Mrs. Buckingham, our little daughter and myself, were just beginning to enjoy a cup of tea with the luxury of fresh milk and soft bread and butter, brought off to us by a shore-boat just after we had anchored in the Creek. Suddenly, however, we heard a noise and a scuffle on the forecastle, as if the men were quarrelling, — for oaths were thickly uttering by many voices, so that some evil was afloat. We instantly repaired on deck, and to our astonishment found the carpenter half drunk, standing on the projecting end of the windlass, a rope round his neck, with the fall in the hands of half a dozen men, and the boatswain with his silver call to his mouth just ready to pipe "hoist away." I demanded what was the meaning of all this, to which the boatswain answered, with the utmost calmness, as if quite unconscious of doing anything wrong, — "We are going to hang the carpenter at the yard-arm!" "Good God!" I exclaimed, "why you will all be hung for murder!" "Never," said one of the seamen, "for such a blackguard as this; he ought to

have been hung months ago." I implored them to desist, but it was with the utmost reluctance that they abandoned their intention, though at length quiet was restored. On inquiry, it appeared that the men had never forgotten his conduct when we lost our mast in the gale; but that the immediate cause of the present outbreak was that he had not only got drunk on his own double allowance, but had stolen some of the men's grog, and by his conduct so broken in upon the harmony of their "Saturday Night," that the verdict of hanging him at once at the yard-arm was pronounced by acclamation; and but for our timely intervention, would have been carried into execution without delay!

While kept in the confinement of Stangate Creek, I had a good opportunity of witnessing the practical absurdity of the quarantine laws. Three ships from Smyrna, leaving at the same period, and arriving in the Thames within a day or two of each other, — the *Scipio*, the *Mary*, and the *Hermes*, our treacherous companion, which arrived two days *after* us, with all her efforts to get in before — were now under quarantine: and from the similarity of the circumstances under which they were all placed, it might have been expected that all would have shared the same fate, especially as there had not been a death,

or a case of plague or fever in either of them since leaving the Turkish waters. But the *Hermes* was released in five days; the *Scipio* in fourteen; and the *Mary* remained to fulfil the full term of forty days; the loss and injury to the owners by these detentions being just in proportion to the respective periods of their detention. On inquiring afterwards into the cause of these differences, I was informed that the owners of the *Hermes* had interest at the Treasury, and therefore obtained the speediest release; that continual importunity and pressing, and the precedent of the *Hermes*, secured our freedom; but that the great obstacle to the *Mary's* being let off for a shorter time than the full period, was, that instead of her having laid in her stock of brooms for sweeping the decks in England, so as to last her out and home, she had renewed her supply of brooms at Smyrna, where they are made of a particular kind of broad-leaved grass or flag, growing by the river's side, and which, with mats of the same material, were classed among the substances deemed highly susceptible of conveying the matter of infection or contagion to all who handle them. It was proved, nevertheless, that the said highly susceptible brooms had been used every day in sweeping the decks, till they were all worn to a stump, without any of the

persons using them being affected in any way; and that if there had been any plague matter in them when first brought on board, it must have been scrubbed out of them long ago. The plea was of no avail; the officers of the quarantine were bound by a certain official routine, from which they could not depart; so that this vessel, with a cargo of great value, and a crew as healthy as our own, was compelled, on account of these worn-out brooms, to remain till her cargo, consisting chiefly of Turkey figs and raisins for the Christmas market, was not only lost for the season, but so injured by the delay, that we heard the owners had petitioned the Treasury to be allowed to throw this portion of the cargo overboard in the Channel to avoid payment of the duty, which would be greater in amount than the goods would sell for, but that this favour was denied; and the loss was consequently greatly aggravated by this refusal. To cap this climax of absurdity, it may be added, that any ship of war, with a crew of a thousand men, and a voyage of only half the duration, arriving in England from Smyrna, though the plague might be raging when she left, and though several cases of sickness might have occurred on the passage, would have been released from quarantine by an Admiralty order in eight and forty hours after

her arrival; which proves that the apprehension of contagion is a mere pretence for keeping up a system by which a number of officials are maintained in the service of the Government, to the great injury of the shipping and commercial interest of the country; and the sooner this absurd and inefficient practice is abolished the better.

CHAP. VI.

Elegant hospitalities and agreeable parties in England.—Anecdotes of a Don Cossack Chief from Russia.—Mania of the English for notoriety. — Lady Cork's rout. — Resolution taken to resign the sea as a profession.—Plan for settling at Malta as a shipowner and merchant.—Sail from London on this expedition.—Lines to the Moon.—Information of the plague raging at Malta.—Influence of fear on one of the passengers. —Terror of all parties on shore at the spread of the disease. Currently received account of its origin and progress.

The agreeable connections formed in Smyrna led to still further introductions to London friends; so that for the first month after our return to England we were overwhelmed with invitations more than we could accept. Among other families with whom Mrs. Buckingham and myself were invited to make some stay, was that of the parents of our friends the Brants, of Smyrna. Their house of business as raw silk merchants was in Cheapside, near St. Paul's; but they had a delightful country residence at West Hill, near Roehampton, where we passed some weeks in the enjoyment of that quiet rural elegance, without parade or ostentation, which is no where to be met

with in the same perfection as among the moderately opulent families of England, without any distinguished rank to demand certain appearances for the credit of the order, but yet a sufficient income to obtain every luxury worth enjoying; a happy blending, in short, of the material and intellectual pleasures conducive to health, and in harmony with the most refined taste. Our mornings were given to reading and writing, our afternoons to riding, driving, or walking, and our evenings to music, poetry, and amusement; and there was every day one or two new faces at the dinner table to give variety to the scene.

As neighbours, living at Roehampton, were the wealthy families of the Ruckers, Daniel and Sigismund, both West India merchants, the former living in a splendid mansion, and both having lovely and accomplished wives, worthy of any court in Christendom. Mrs. Brant, being a native of Symrna, delighted to get Mrs. Buckingham or myself into a corner, and talk over the topics connected with her native home; its noble mountains, fertile plains, the caravan bridge, the cypress groves of the cemeteries, the pretty villages of Boodjah and Sedikui, the turbanned Turks, the kalpacked Armenians, the lively Greeks, the dance of the Romaika, and all the recollections of her youth. Her daughters were

interesting and accomplished; and a relative, Miss Arboyne, and a frequent visitor, Miss Nash, daughter, I believe, of the celebrated architect, made a constant agreeable home party; while their neighbours frequently dropped in to give additional zest by their variety.

On one of the evenings of our dining at Mr. Daniel Rucker's, there was an officer of the Don Cossacks present as a guest. This man had come over from Russia on a special mission to the Government, and though little removed from a savage in his look and manners, he became "fashionable" for the season, and no party was considered complete without him. There was at that period a fierce war between Russia and France, in which the English sympathised entirely with the former; and so much did the London merchants make of this Don Cossack — the first, perhaps, that had ever been seen in England — that one afternoon at high 'Change, between three and four o'clock, he was placed on the pedestal of the central statue in the open court of the Royal Exchange, and there made to answer, through an interpreter, the various questions put to him by the surrounding bystanders. One of them we heard was, "How many Frenchmen have you killed with your own hand?" To which he answered, without hesitation, "Two

hundred and fifty!" which few were disposed to believe, though others proposed "Three cheers for the hero of the Don."

This Cossack was at the dinner party of Mr. Daniel Rucker, and was placed on the right hand of his accomplished lady, with an interpreter intervening. But when the dinner was served, his mode of eating was so disgusting, and the quantities of oil, mustard, vinegar, and sauces which he consumed so revolting, that almost every one near him lost their appetites, and several of the ladies were compelled to rise and leave the table. Every one appeared to rejoice, therefore, when the dinner was over, and the Don Cossack took his departure for London, where he was engaged to three different evening parties!

This mania was very happily hit off by Moore, in his little volume of "Intercepted Letters," published about a year after this event (1814), in a letter from the Countess Dowager of Cork, famed for her fashionable parties, to one of her lady friends, whose influence she solicits to help her to some novelties for the occasion.

"My dear Lady L —— I've been just sending out
About five hundred cards for a snug little rout,
But I can't conceive how, in this very cold weather,
I'm ever to bring my five hundred together.

But my dear Lady L —— can't you hit on some notion
At least for one night to set London in motion?
Is there no Algerine, no Kamschatkan arrived?
No Plenipo-Pasha, — three-tailed and ten-wived?
No *Russian*, whose dissonant consonant name
Almost rattles to fragments the trumpet of Fame?
In short, my dear, names like Windtzschitstopschen-
zoudhoff,
Are the only things now make an evening go smooth
off.
So get me a *Russian*, — till death I'm your debtor; —
If he brings the whole alphabet, so much the better;
And, Lord! if he would but, in character, sup
Off his fish-oil and candles, he'd soon set me up!"

The mania is so peculiarly English, that it has lasted ever since, and will continue to endure for a long time to come. Every East Indian, who arrives in London, provided he can exhibit a gay and gorgeous dress of cloth of gold and Cashmere shawls, with diamonds and other jewels on his person, is sure to be sought after as a lion of the season. Dwarkanauth Tagore, a simple merchant; the Nepaul princes, despots of the severest kind; the deposed Rajah of Coorg; the conquered chief of Scinde; an ordinary office-clerk, Mohun Lal, — by dint of their dark skins, gay turbans, and gold and jewelled ornaments, have been sought out as lions for fashion-

able parties up to the present hour; and though they could in general contribute nothing of an intellectual character to their entertainers, they were gaudy objects to be gazed at, and so far answered the purpose of their exhibitors. Even while this sheet is passing through my hands, I read in the *Times* of Dec. 15. 1854, that the Russian officers taken prisoners in the Baltic, and being at Lewes and Brighton on parole, are *fêted* as lions by the inhabitants of both these places, and that no party is supposed to be complete without some Russian uniforms; while at a Public Ball, given at Brighton to raise money for the Patriotic Fund for the sick and wounded in the Crimea, several of these Russian officers appeared; and English ladies seemed to account it an honour to be partners in the dance with those whose countrymen were beating out the brains and putting to death the wounded English, even after they had given them water to allay their thirst, and rendered them such succour as was in their power! Alas! for the heartlessness and frivolity of those to whom fashion and notoriety are the chief objects of their idolatry, and who would link themselves to savages and murderers for the sake of momentary *éclat!*

The great happiness which we had now enjoyed in being together ever since the loss of our dear infant,

and my wife's personal experience of the "perils of the sea," in battle and in storm, induced her to desire most ardently that I should relinquish the profession, and seek some other occupation by which our separation might be avoided. Being nothing loth to comply with a request so much in harmony with my own desires, I readily yielded; and after much consideration and the advice of friends, the following course was resolved upon.

I had been so successful in a pecuniary point of view in all my voyages, by the liberality of the owners of the ship under my command, and by fortunate speculations in mercantile adventures, that, with the credit which all persons of known character and capital could obtain, I possessed sufficient means to establish a house of business as a shipowner and merchant at Malta. For this I was further qualified by my acquaintance with all the languages in use there—Arabic, Greek, Italian, and French—as well as by a practical knowledge of the trade of the Mediterranean, and especially of the value of ships. This, indeed, was most important; for Malta being at that time the chief depôt of all the goods forced into the continental ports in defiance of the decrees of Buonaparte for their exclusion, was the greatest mart of trade within the Mediterranean; and as all ships

14.044

taken as prizes by our cruisers there were taken into Malta for adjudication and sale, it was the great centre of activity for this branch of traffic also.

It was accordingly resolved that I should lay in, in London, a general cargo of goods suited to the peculiar market of the island; in which I expended all my own capital, and as much credit as I thought it safe to obtain; and placing them on board the ship *Gallant Schemer*, Captain Worts, took my place as passenger with him, so as to superintend the landing and sale. I therefore resigned the command of the *Scipio*, very much to the regret of her owners, and prepared to carry out my plan, being furnished at the same time with letters of credit and introduction from some of the first houses in London to their correspondents in Malta.

The question was next discussed whether my wife and daughter should accompany me or not; but on the whole, it was thought better that I should first go alone, get comfortably settled in a house, and have all the preliminaries of my establishment completed, and that then my wife and daughter should join me; a decision which was deemed the more prudent from another reason; namely, that my wife's confinement might be expected in a month after leaving London, and if this should fall out at sea, it would be ex-

ceedingly inconvenient. We parted therefore with the strongest conviction that we should meet again at Malta in three or four months at farthest; instead of which, we never met again (though both ardently desiring it) for ten long years; when the son, born within a month after our separation, was ten years old before I beheld his face or he mine, for reasons which will appear in the sequel.

In crossing the Bay of Biscay we had a heavy sea, which sufficiently sustained the reputation of that hollow indentation of the coast for its angry billows rolling in from the vast expanse of the Western Ocean, though we happily had a fine moonlight, which is always so welcome at sea. We anchored at Gibraltar for a few days, during which I made a pleasant excursion to the Spanish towns of Algeziras and San Roque, and a trip up the pretty stream called the little Quadalquiver; but my thoughts were so absorbed by home and its associations, that I was the least happy, perhaps, of all the party, and soon after suffered an attack of fever, with great depression of spirits.

Within the Straits we encountered a heavy gale off the African coast; and, at its cessation, the young moon appeared in its thin crescent form, like silver

inlaid in the most beautiful azure, so clear and deep seemed the vault of heaven. I know of nothing so suggestive, at sea at least, as the moon in all her phases, of love and friendship, and the thoughts of those we have left behind us; and full of these I penned the following lines:—

TO THE MOON.

I.

Hail to thy lamp again, pale Moon!
In silence sinking down the west;
Hail! tho' thy beams disturb too soon
The halcyon calm that charmed my breast.
Oh! why, in this expectant hour,
Didst thou arrest my wandering eye?
Why, but to triumph in thy power,
And wake me from my dream of joy!

II.

Fair Queen! thy first revolving round,
Since exiled from my dear loved home,
Saw me o'er Biscay's billows bound,
Regardless of their angry foam;
While gazing on thy welcome ray,
Remembered scenes my heart absorb,
As Feeling poured, in simple lay
Her vespers to thy new-born orb.

III.

But when, returning from thy course,
To re-assume soft Evening's reign,
As fell Disease, with venomed force,
Poured maddening pangs thro' every vein,
Thy troubled disk was veiled in cloud,
And dimly seemed thy lamp to burn,
With paler beams to wrap my shroud,
With fainter fires to light my urn.

IV.

Oh! I had lulled each pang to rest,
That Recollection loved to trace,
And Hope had soothed my love-lorn breast,
With Friendship's near and fond embrace;
When gazing round Heaven's fretted dome,
Soon as I saw thy silver ray,
My heart again was filled with Home,
And Joy's fair prospects swept away.

V.

And now, on this auspicious eve,
That crowns our triumph o'er the storm,
While future hopes my heart relieve,
I see again thy crescent form,
Retiring down the blushing sky,
Still warm from Day's expiring beams,
Like the soft tints of home-felt joy,
Reflected faint in Memory's dreams.

As I was now a passenger on board the ship and had no duty to perform, I read usually eight hours a day, and had still abundant time to be on deck when any evolutions were to be performed, of which it was always agreeable to me to be at least a spectator. As I had now been twice over the same track, there were no novelties to attract my attention. Nothing remarkable, therefore, transpired on our voyage till we were within about a day's sail of Malta; when, to the great horror of some, and the disappointment of all, we had a signal from the commodore of the fleet—for we were sailing under convoy of the *Blossom* sloop of war —to shorten sail, and each ship to send a boat to the commodore for instructions.

On our boat's return we learnt that a sloop of war had been dispatched by the Governor of Malta to meet such ships as might be bound for the island, to communicate to their commanders that the plague had broken out in La Valetta, and was raging with the greatest fury; and to command all vessels having Government stores on board to repair to Port Mahon, in Minorca, leaving the commanders of other ships to enter Malta or proceed elsewhere as they thought best.

As the cargo we had embarked was selected with especial reference to the Maltese market, and would

lose considerably in value if taken elsewhere, our commander concurred with me in the determination to proceed direct to Malta, though the greater portion of the fleet were soon scattered in all directions, some obeying the order respecting Government stores, and others, never having been in plague-stricken ports before, terrified at the danger. We had a remarkable instance in our own ship, of the powerful influence of fear in predisposing persons to become affected with the disease itself. On our anchoring in Malta, we were forbidden, by orders from the shore, to land any of the passengers, officers, or crew, though boats would be sent for the discharge of our cargo, if we desired it; the Governor having determined that no more persons should enter the island, as he conceived that the crowding of the population, and the consumption of provisions and water would only aggravate the sufferings of the people. The persons who brought us this intelligence were Maltese belonging to the quarantine establishment, and they looked gloomy and despairing enough, so as to cast a damp on the spirits of all on board, except two of the youngest officers, who conceived the idea of a very heartless practical joke.

Among the passengers was a stout, over-fed, hypochondriacal subject, an army clothier from Bond

Street, who had come out to Malta on some business connected with his supplying the troops with apparel. He had never been at sea before, was sick on the least motion of the vessel, and was so timid as to be alarmed at the slightest sign of danger. One of the young officers alluded to, with a view to frighten this passenger with the fear of the plague, went into his berth or bed-place, had his face and lips rubbed over with flour, to make him look deadly pale, and a table placed by his bed-side with phials of medicine labelled, and boxes of pills. His companion, going on deck, accosted the army clothier in melancholy tones, saying, "Well, Sir, it's likely to be soon all over with us; the plague is already on board, and my young friend below is suffering from a violent attack of it." The passenger disbelieved it at first; but, on the officer challenging him to come and see, he went down to the supposed sick man's berth, and the sight so shocked him that he was instantly seized with faintness, which was followed by vomiting and diarrhœa to a degree that, had it not been arrested by the invalid jumping out of bed and assuring him it was all a hoax, would possibly have brought on the plague in reality. This is perfectly conformable to the general maxim which experience has established as a true one, namely, that the plague rarely attacks those

who are not afraid of it; and hence, medical men and merchants long resident in the East walk fearlessly through the ranks of the dead and the dying when their duty calls them so to do; and the first victims that are seized are those who are predisposed for the attack by physical weakness and nervous depression. We all agreed, however, in condemning this youthful and mischievous prank, and were rejoiced when the terrified victim of the ill-timed joke recovered his health and composure, which it took three or four days to effect.

We could gather no information respecting the number of deaths on shore, except from the pratique officers who came alongside; but the accounts differed materially, from 1,500 to 3,000 a day; both, no doubt, above the real number. But as the plague had not been known to be in Malta for upwards of a century, it was so new to every one, that from the Governor down to the sentry on guard at the landing place, every one seemed to be terror-struck, and to have become quite incompetent to give directions or obey them. We heard that the reluctance on the part of the survivors to bury the dead was such, that the prisons were obliged to be opened, and the convicts released from their sentences on condition of their performing this office; and as these men had conceived

the notion that brandy and other strong spirits were the best preventives of the contagion, they were nearly all drunk while engaged in this duty, so that most revolting and disgusting scenes were the result. All kinds of stories also were prevalent as to the origin of the disease; the most accredited of which was the following, which I transcribe from a letter written to my wife in England, at this period, dated Malta, June 11. 1813:—

"It appears that early in May a ship arrived here from Alexandria, laden with flax, having the plague on board, and having lost several of her crew on the passage. She was accordingly put under guard in Marsamashute harbour. It was suggested by the merchants here to burn her; but this the Governor refused to do, under the hope of saving the lives and property on board. All her crew, however, fell victims to this terrible disease, as well as some Maltese who went on board her, but were not allowed to return on shore. She was then towed round to St. Paul's Bay, where she lay, I think, fifteen days without a living creature on board, and is now either sunk or intended to be. No one can ascertain with certainty how the disease was communicated to the shore, since no one came out of the ship that ever

went on board her; but rumour attributes it to some goods received out of her by one of the health-guards, whose whole family have died, and whose house is burnt to the ground. It soon spread rapidly; and although the number of deaths daily vary, they are on the increase, in spite of every caution that human prudence can suggest. A transport came in here dismasted, and the captain, in opposition to all advice, employing some persons from the shore to refit, got the plague on board, and yesterday we witnessed the melancholy spectacle of the vessel being towed out to sea, to be burnt with everything on board her, and the crew set on some isolated spot. Captain Chilcott, of the navy, with a wife and five grown daughters, resident here, lost one servant, and another is now lying ill of the plague; in consequence of which they were all ordered to abandon their house, and are forced to the Lazaretto, having taken leave of their friends without a hope of ever returning to them. So rigid are the regulations, that the instant an individual is seized with the pestilence, himself and family are taken to the Lazaretto, and from the number of persons actually having the plague there, death is almost inevitable; while such is the general alarm, that it is not considered safe to wait until those symptoms confirm themselves before they are

removed from the rest of society. When this is the case, the health-guards of course do not touch them; and if the poor wretches have not strength to walk along, they are literally dragged through the streets with a sort of boat-hook, and when in the Lazaretto, can receive little assistance beyond what they are enabled to afford themselves. The instant they are dead they are thrown, by flesh-hooks, into a cart, taken to a distant spot, their bodies burnt, and all their property and effects destroyed. Throughout the town every house is shut up; and every street where the plague has been is barricaded with gates and sentinels, so that we can see no one, hear from no one, and all is at a stand."

These statements, if they are all strictly accurate as here reported, would seem to favour the contagion-theory; but in opposition to it may be set this other great fact, namely, that when the medical staff of the island had exhausted all their skill and powers in vain, a body of Jews from Smyrna, well acquainted with the disease and its appropriate remedies, offered their services to the Maltese Government, on condition of being paid a certain sum per head for those only that they cured. This offer was accepted: the Jews arrived, went freely among the dead and dying,

handled their bodies without any visible precaution, and cured about ninety per cent. of those attacked, by taking them in hand on the first symptoms of the disease appearing; and not one of these medical attendants was affected with the disease during all their stay in the island.

So powerful a protection is confidence, and so certain a predisposer to the disease is fear, that it was currently said and believed here that an experiment was tried on two convicts, one of whom was placed in a bed, in which he was told a man had died of the plague a few hours before, which was not true, and he caught the disease, and died of it; while the other was placed in a bed in which a man had actually died on the preceding day, and the clothes were not changed, but the convict was told that the bed had never been slept in by any but healthy persons, and he was not affected in the slightest degree.

Considering the great interests at stake, it is as wonderful as it is discreditable, both to the government and the medical profession, that such a course of inquiry and experiment is not set on foot and pursued rigorously by impartial persons wedded to no previous theory, as should settle the question de-

finitively, whether the plague is really contagious or not; and if the latter, to abolish the system of quarantine and all its injuries and absurdities at once and for ever; but if the former, so to revise the system as to make it as efficacious and as little injurious as possible.

CHAP. VII.

Sail for Smyrna.—Leaving goods behind at Malta.—Excursion to Clazomené, the city of Anaxagoras.—Description of the ruins.—Causeway.—Theatre.—Acropolis.—Fate of Anaxagoras for being a man before his time.—Continued disastrous news of deaths and failures in Malta.—Loss of all my property there, and increased liabilities.—Second instance of pecuniary misfortune without fault.—Resolution to try new ground by going to Egypt.

It was arranged that all the goods laid in by me for the market of Malta should be landed here, under charge of the ship's agent, to be sold as opportunities might offer, when the plague should abate and business be resumed: and the whole was accordingly placed in one of the public magazines or warehouses, after which we took our departure for Smyrna, arriving there on the 30th of June, to await the progress of events. I was kindly received by my friend, Mr. James Brant, who made me take up my abode with him; and nothing could exceed the friendly attentions I daily received at his hands.

During my stay, I became acquainted with Captain Clavell of the *Orlando* frigate, who had succeeded

Captain Hope in the *Salsette*, and with the Rev. Mr. Renouard, chaplain to the British Factory of the Levant Company at Smyrna, an accomplished scholar and a great Orientalist and antiquary. By Captain Clavell's kindness, an excursion was planned, to unite the pleasures of a sporting and an exploring party, by a visit to the site of Clazomené, the birth-place of Anaxagoras, the astronomer and philosopher, and the preceptor of Socrates, Euripides, Themistocles, and Pericles, the most illustrious group of pupils or disciples, perhaps, that were ever taught by one master.

I must venture on a short account of this excursion. We embarked at nine o'clock in the evening, after dining together at the English consul's, Mr. Werry's, in order that we might start, with the land breeze which blows off shore and right out of the Bay, soon after midnight, as beating down against the sea breeze of the day would be very tedious. At three o'clock A.M., the boatswain's whistle roused us all from our cots and hammocks, and was soon followed by the hoarse summons, "All hands, up anchor! ahoy!" There is scarcely any scene more animating, perhaps, than that of a fine frigate with smart officers and an ample crew, getting under way with all possible expedition; and it is the usual

ambition of naval commanders to excel each other in the rapidity of such evolutions. In less than ten minutes, the anchor was at the bow and every sail set, and the bright starlight was soon succeeded by the glowing dawn opening behind the eastern mountains of Asia Minor. We anchored at sunset in the harbour of Vourla, and dined with the captain and officers in the chief cabin. Vourla was the Chytrium of the ancients, and Clazomené was on an island opposite to it. From being subsequently connected to the main land by an artificial causeway made by Alexander of Macedon, as he afterwards did to the celebrated island of Tyre, this place is now called by the Turks the "Island of the Ruad," and we were conveyed across to it by a boat from the shore.

Though the city of Clazomené has entirely disappeared, the substantial work of the mole or causeway is perfectly visible beneath the water, coming up near to the surface, having the form of a reaping-hook with its outer face to the sea, to bear the full brunt of the waves, and forming, like the breakwater at Plymouth, a smooth cove or bay in the hollow of its concave segment of a circle. Tracing the shore, along the north-east extremity of the island, ruins of extensive foundations were to be seen on the beach,

and receding behind it, constructed of large well-hewn blocks of stone, some of them being probably the baths described here by Pausanias and Livy.

Ascending the hill, fragments of buildings were to be seen at every step, and the whole ground was covered with broken pottery, — some highly glazed, of fine texture, black within and brown without, with Etruscan and Greek figures greatly mutilated. They appeared to be fragments of vases and vessels of religious and domestic use, the handles, lids, and bases of many being perfect.

On gaining the summit of the hill, which completely commanded the whole island, and particularly the port below, we found a level space of about 200 yards in diameter, and nearly circular. In the centre were the foundations of large buildings, and on the slope of the hill, where the ascent was easiest, were the remains of an ancient Greek theatre, the stone benches rising in semicircles, one above the other, being in many parts nearly perfect, the site commanding, as was the custom with the Greeks in choosing the spots for such edifices, a noble and extensive prospect, so that the spectators, in their unroofed theatre, might enjoy all the freshness and beauty of Nature while witnessing the highest performances of the dramatic art. Around the outer

edge of this elevated platform were a number of massive unhewn stones, as if forming originally portions of a Cyclopean wall, and probably enclosing the theatre and the Acropolis, as the Parthenon is included within that of Athens.

We descended into the middle of the island, which is the lowest part of it, as its two most distant and opposite extremities are elevated promontories. From the summit of what we inferred to be the Acropolis, to the bottom of the valley between, the ground was cultivated for corn by the few Turks residing on the island, of whom there were only three families! Along this valley were scattered extensive fragments of buildings, with pedestals and shafts of columns, both fluted and plain, about four feet in diameter and twenty in length, with broken cornices, mouldings, and pieces of alabaster.

Clazomené was founded by the Ionians, 850 years before Christ, and both Pliny and Strabo describe the artificial peninsula or causeway of Alexander of Macedon uniting the island to the mainland. It is as the birthplace of Anaxagoras, however, that it most deeply interested us, as he was certainly one of the most remarkable among the many remarkable men of antiquity. He travelled into Egypt for improvement, and used to say that he preferred a grain

of wisdom to heaps of gold. About the second year of the 78th Olympiad, a meteoric stone fell near the river Egas in Thrace, which excited his attention, and led him to theorize on the formation of the heavenly bodies; some of his ideas being, as we might well expect in such an age, strangely different from our own, but many in conformity with what was afterwards received as truth. He regarded the sun as a mass of fire, and ascribed the whiteness of the Milky Way to the native light of its innumerable stars. He considered comets to be wandering stars, and was the first who wrote on the phases and eclipses of the moon; and anticipating in his sagacious mind the discoveries of the telescope, he taught that the moon contained seas, mountains, and valleys, like our own globe, and was in all probability inhabited.

The attempts of Anaxagoras to explain by natural causes the phenomena of the heavens were regarded by the Athenians as likely to subvert the influence of the gods; and the philosopher, with all his family, was proscribed as an enemy of the established religion, accused of impiety, and condemned to die; but he ridiculed the sentence, and said truly that it had long been pronounced against him by Nature, and would be the fate of his persecutors also. Pericles, his friend and disciple, interposed in his behalf, but

the conversion of death into banishment was the only mitigation he had the influence to procure. Anaxagoras died at the age of seventy-two, 428 years before Christ; and being asked, during his illness, whether his body should be carried into his own country, he answered, "No! as the road that led to the other side of the grave was as long from one place as the other." When the people of Lampsacus, the place of his exile, inquired of him before his death whether he wished anything to be done in commemoration of him, he replied, "Yes! let the boys be allowed to play on the anniversary of my death." This, it is said, was carefully observed for a long period; and the time thus dedicated to relaxation was, from that circumstance, called Anaxagoreia. Yet, this once renowned city, the birthplace of this illustrious sage who could penetrate the future, and soar above the prevailing superstitions of his age, was now the habitation of a few obscure individuals, lost in more than primitive ignorance.

The sporting party having returned from their excursion, with little to reward their trouble, we all re-embarked on board the frigate, and returned to Smyrna, after a most agreeable cruise.

During the remainder of my stay here, having unfortunately too much leisure, of a most unproductive

kind, I visited every spot of interest in and around the city, to a distance of ten or twelve miles, always finding companions ready to join in such excursions, which were made on horseback, leaving the city before sunrise, and returning after sunset, to avoid the sultry heat of the August sun. I must resist the temptation, however, strong as it is, to record many interesting incidents and descriptions, which would be strictly in place in a Book of Travels, but might be thought, perhaps, less adapted to an Autobiography; and yet I find it extremely difficult to draw the line; but in passing over some hundreds of pages of my unpublished Journal, still in manuscript, I cannot be said to err on the side of exuberance.

The most painful portion of my stay here was that which brought me, week after week, more and more distressing intelligence from Malta as to the continuance of the plague there; the deaths and bankruptcies of individuals with whom some portion of my property was lodged, and the burning down of magazines in which goods were stored, because all the parties employed in them had died, and no insurance could cover such calamities as these. The result was that I not only lost by this state of things all the earnings of my profession as an officer and com-

mander (and they were considerable) during a period of several years, but I became involved in heavy liabilities for goods obtained on credit, in addition to those paid for with cash; and I had not 100*l.* left me in the world, with a wife and two children at home to remit to for their support; and with no certainty whatever as to any occupation for the future, without returning again to sea, which we both desired if possible to avoid.

Here then is the second instance in which I was subjected to great pecuniary loss, from no fault of my own, but from circumstances which I could neither avoid nor control.

On consulting with my friends as to the best course I could pursue, Malta being still unpromising as a field of action, perhaps, for many months to come; and Smyrna, suffering from the effects of the mercantile stagnation occasioned by this state of things, offering no hope of advantageous employment, it was thought best to try entirely new ground; and Egypt was suggested as a very likely field. The pasha, Mohammed Ali, who had just succeeded to power there, was known to desire the aid of Europeans of talent and character in his service, and by letters of introduction to our Consul General there, of which a

large number could be furnished me from Smyrna, I might obtain a favourable introduction to his notice.

This course was therefore resolved upon, and I began at once to make preparations for my voyage to this new and, by me at least, hitherto untrodden region.

CHAP. VIII.

Embark for Egypt in the schooner *Theodosia*.—Naval veteran commander's appearance and habits.—Watering at Vourla, and passage through the Archipelago.—Sight of Candia, and Mount Ida of the Cretan Jove.—Anecdotes of grog-drinking by the points of the compass.—First sight of the shores of Egypt—Pompey's Pillar.—Unfavourable impressions on landing at Alexandria.—Agreeable state of society among the Europeans.—Excursions during the day.—Mareotis, Aboukir,&c. —Singular Club, called "The Bucolicanic Association."—Anniversary celebrated in the gardens of Alexandria.—Prize poem for translation.—Ode to Hope.—Object of my visit to Egypt not neglected.—Resolution taken to repair to Grand Cairo.

A FAVOURABLE opportunity offering for my going to Egypt, I readily embraced it, and embarked on the 30th of August in the King's schooner *Theodosia*, bound for Alexandria, a free passage having been solicited for me by the consul, and cheerfully granted by the commander. This naval veteran was at least fifty years of age, and had seen a great deal of hard service; but having no family interest at the Admiralty, or parliamentary interest in any borough, he still remained only a lieutenant, though scores of "youngsters," as he called them, had been promoted

to commanders and post-captains over his head. This was too frequently the case in the naval service at that period; and its general result was to make those neglected officers first dejected and then reckless, most frequently giving way to intemperate habits which grew upon them by indulgence, and often ended in making them confirmed sots, which again operated in preventing them from obtaining either promotion or employment. Our commander had not quite arrived at the last stage, but he was far gone towards it; and his rubicund face, enlarged and carbuncled nose, filmy eyes, and alcoholic breath, gave unmistakeable signs of his confirmed habits. Nevertheless he was "every inch a seaman," and one of the most jovial of companions when sufficiently braced up for mirth, though heavy, dull, and hypochondriacal till the requisite stimulus had been taken.

Leaving the Bay of Smyrna, we touched at the anchorage of Vourla to fill up our water at a gushing fountain there; and, sailing from thence, we rounded Cape Carabourna, the southern promontory of the Gulf of Smyrna, passed round the north end of Scio, going between that island and Ipsera, and thence through the Faro channel, passing Milo and other islands, and then steering away south, with a fair wind, for Alexandria.

On the fourth day after leaving Smyrna, we came in sight of Candia, and had a fine view of the Cretan Ida, or the Mount of Jove, towering its head above the clouds as if in conscious majesty. The wind, however, here headed us off, and blew with great violence, so as to oblige us to reduce our canvas, and beat to windward under reefed sails. The harder it blew, the more the commander seemed to require the consolation which his grog alone appeared capable of affording him; and his calls to the cabin-boy for another glass, were more frequent than the heaving of the log, though this took place at every bell, or every half hour of the watch. It was amusing, though at the same time melancholy, to see how the use of stimulants deadens the palate, and requires increased strength with every successive dose to produce the desired excitement. From habit, the boy understood his captain's taste pretty well, and made his grog "stiffer," as it is called, than the ordinary standard of strength for drinking; and a kind of thermometrical test had sprung up between them, regulated by the points of the compass, in which north signified the pure spirit, south the water, and east and west equal portions of each. In the early part of the day, therefore, half an hour after breakfast, the captain would call for a south-wester,

which would mean a mixture of one fourth brandy and three fourths water; by noon the taste would have been gradually brought up to an east-and-wester, which would mean half brandy and half water. After dinner, a north-easter would be acceptable, composed of three fourths brandy and one fourth water; and this was professedly the limit which the commander set to himself, intending not to go beyond, regarding this as temperate, for it was his constant boast that he never drank drams, that being left for drunkards. Several times, however, it had happened that when the north-easter was prepared by the boy, the captain would send it down for a point or two more of northing, meaning a little more brandy to be added; and this had lately been done so often, that, to save himself trouble, the boy brought him up at eight bells, after a wet, stormy day, a tumbler of pure brandy, without any water at all. The captain tasted it, and his commendation of it was enthusiastic. "By God! Jack," said he, "this is excellent; but it is a pity that it should not be made perfect—a point or two more of northing is all that it requires." To which the boy replied, "I beg your pardon, Sir, but that is impossible, for it is due north already!"

On the 9th of September, just ten days after leaving Smyrna, we first made the coast of Africa to the

westward of Alexandria in the bay of Cape Rosa. We sounded in forty-five fathoms, with a soft muddy bottom, and the sea-water greatly discoloured by the discharge of the turbid stream of the Nile. Standing eastward along a low, flat, sandy and barren coast, we descried the column usually called Pompey's Pillar, rising so high above the town of Alexandria that for two hours at least it was the only object in sight. As we drew nearer, the castle, occupying the site of the ancient Pharos, began to be developed, and then the flat-roofed dwellings, the flags of the European consuls, and the obelisk called Cleopatra's Needle,—all suggesting reminiscences of the history of Alexander, Pompey, the Ptolemies, Cæsar, Antony and Cleopatra, the Saracens Omar and Amrou, the Soldans, the Mamalukes, and all the successive rulers of Egypt.

The aspect of the town was anything but promising, as seen from the harbour; but on landing the scene was revolting in the extreme,—so much apparent poverty, dirt, decay, and stagnation, I had never before witnessed; and its contrast with the splendour of the ancient Alexandria,—when it was the great mart of nations for concentrating the commerce of the eastern and western world, the school of philosophy, poetry, and science, and the court of the accom

plished Ptolemies, — was painful in the extreme. But I must not trust myself with the description.

I was most hospitably received by Mr. Peter Lee, then British Consul at Alexandria, brother of Mr. John Lee at Smyrna, and of Mr. Edward Lee, the head of the house in London; and in the society of his accomplished wife, the sister of Miss Arboyne, whom we had met at the family of the Brants in England, I found all the comforts of a second home.

Among the inmates of the same house, guests like myself, were Mr. Schutz, a wealthy merchant just returning to Europe, after acquiring a large fortune in the corn trade of Egypt, and Signor Martucci, a Roman traveller, who spoke English well, had seen much of the world, was a good musician, and an agreeable companion. I was soon introduced to all the European Consuls and their families; and in the course of a week knew every one in Alexandria whose acquaintance was worth cultivating.

French and Italian being the languages chiefly spoken by the Europeans and Levantines, and the manners of France prevailing among all these classes, we had most agreeable *réunions* every evening; as each Consul, as matter of duty, kept open house for an evening reception once in the week; and on Sunday evenings the parties were still more numerous. After an hour devoted to receptions, from seven

to eight, music was usually introduced, and pleasant chamber concerts given, in which Signor Martucci and myself usually took our parts, and from half past nine to eleven the evening was wound up by a dance, No other refreshments than coffee, *eau sucré*, and lemonade were produced for the visitors, so that the entertainments were inexpensive, and therefore easy to be often repeated; and as the houses were large, there were always rooms or balconies to which those who did not join in the music or dance might retire for conversation. How much more rational is this than the heavy dinners and costly wines of England, which cannot, by reason of their expense, be frequently given, and which, when they are, keep the gentlemen at table till ten o'clock, and the ladies without their society, while they are sitting over their wine; so that the whole evening is cut up, unless the party is continued till an unreasonable and unhealthy late hour.

During the daytime, accompanied by Mr. Lee, or some of his household, I visited every spot of interest in and around Alexandria, including the supposed baths of Cleopatra to the west, but which are conjectured to have been catacombs—now in a state of great dilapidation, but once highly adorned with architectural and sculptured details—as well as the

Lake Mareotis behind the city, and the fortified heights raised by the English and French armies in their contest for the possession of Egypt—the scene of the brave Abercrombie's death and victory, and the bay of Aboukir, in which Nelson destroyed the great fleet of France under Napoleon.

Among other novelties there had been recently established here, by the Europeans and Levantines, a sort of Club, called "The Bucolicanic Association," the object of which, as its name imports, was the enjoyment of rural parties in the few gardens which have been artificially made by art and industry amid the arid sands of Alexandria. It had a king and queen resident at Cairo, where its numbers were greatest, and at Alexandria was a prince regent, with princesses, admirals, ministers of finance and police, counsellors of state, and, in short, every grade of office known under a well constituted monarchy. The anniversary of its foundation happened during my stay at Alexandria, and I was invited to join its ranks as a visitor or guest. We dined early *al fresco*, and on returning in the evening, were all fatigued with the excessive warmth which prevailed during this festive meeting.

One of the customs of the Association was for the ladies to propose subjects for essays or poems, or to offer existing poems in one language for translation

into another; and the successful competitor was made an honorary member, if not already enrolled in the body, or elevated a grade in rank, if already within its members. As visitors were thus admitted as competitors, a copy of a French Ode to L'Espérance was presented to myself and others by the beautiful and accomplished daughter of the Sardinian Consul, Mademoiselle Thedenard, of Turin, as her own composition, for translation into English; and as my version obtained the prize, and obtained for me the rank of an honorary member, I record it here, to show, by the original, that even in these rural and somewhat boisterous enjoyments of mirth and good cheer, there were not wanting the softening influences of beauty and poetry to grace and dignify its pleasures.

L'ESPÉRANCE.

I.

Salut! ô divine Espérance!
Toi, dont le charme seducteur,
Donne une aîle à la jouissance,
Ôte une épine à la douleur:
Quand sur son sein l'homme repose,
Ah! qu'il goûte un doux abandon!
Si le Plaisir est une rose,
L'Espérance en est le bouton.

II.

Ton ancre soutien la nacelle
Du malheureux, battue des vents ;
Toi seule lui reste fidelle,
Quand ses amis sont inconstants :
Malgré les verroux effroyables,
Dans un cachot tu suis nos pas ;
Si les Enfers sont redoutables,
C'est que tu n'y pénétre pas.

III.

Des amours charmante nourrice,
Que seraient ils sans ton secours ?
Ce sont tes soins, ton lait propice,
Que les font croître tous les jours ;
En vain, après bien des traverses,
Ils sont au comble de leurs vœux :
Sur tes genoux quand tu les berces,
Ils sont souvent bien plus heureux.

IV.

Je te vois repousser dans l'ombre
Et les craintes et les regrets,
Et sur l'avenir le plus sombre
Jeter un voile pleins d'attraits ; —
Quand, par les maux l'âme epuisée,
Touche à l'heure où tous n'est plus rien,
Au loin tu montre l'Elysée,
Et la mort nous paroit un bien.

HOPE.

I.

Hail! Hope, fair daughter of the skies,
The charm of whose seductive reign
Gives wings to pleasure as it flies,
And plucks away the thorn from pain;
Lulled on thy bosom to repose,
How sweetly sleep our mortal cares,
And oh! if Pleasure be a rose
Hope is the sweetest bud it bears.

II.

Man's shattered bark thine anchor stays,
Till the rude storm has o'er him blown,
And thy bright star still lends its rays,
When fortune, friends, and all are flown;
Tho' frightful darkness gathers round,
Thy light the wanderer's path can cheer;
Nor would Hell's self a hell be found,
But that thou never enterest there.

III.

Of love the tenderest nurse confest,
To thee the infant passion clings;
And fed at thy propitious breast,
With life's invigorating springs,
It finds at length, when quitting thee,
Possession's warmest vow to meet,
Fondled on thy maternal knee,
Its bliss was often more complete.

IV.

O! Hope! 'tis thine o'er present ill
Thy magic ray of light to pour,
And the dark future brighten still
With pictured scenes of joy in store;
E'en when the soul exhausted yields
In that last hour when life must cease,
The dream of thine Elysian fields
Makes death itself a pledge of peace.

Amidst all this round of pleasure, however, I had never forgotten the object of my visit to Egypt, which was to seek some employment of a mercantile character, by which I might hope to recover, in some degree, my heavy losses by the plague at Malta, and the bankruptcies, burnings, and destruction of property to which it gave rise. On this subject I had frequent conferences with Mr. Lee and other friends, and all agreed that the Pasha, Mohammed Ali, just then firmly established in power, would be very likely to value such information as I could give him on maritime and mercantile affairs; that the best thing to be done would be for me to repair to Cairo, where he then was, with such letters of recommendation as could be afforded me from hence; and through the medium of the Consul General there, obtain a personal introduction to His Highness, to

state my views and wishes, and place my services at his disposal. To this arrangement I readily acceded, as I had now an additional motive for exertion, having just received intelligence from England of my dear wife giving birth to a son on the 29th of June, little more than a month after my leaving her for Malta, to which place it was therefore a fortunate circumstance that she did not accompany me.

I might occupy many chapters with the result of my researches and observations at Alexandria, both as respects its ancient remains and the state of its modern society; but rich and abundant as these materials are in novelty and interest, I pass them by to continue my Personal Narrative only.

CHAP. IX.

Voyage from Alexandria to Rosetta by the Lakes.—Battle-fields of Abercrombie and Nelson.—Rosetta and its environs.—Costume of the British Consul.—Embark on the Nile for Cairo.—The inundation.—Amphibious boatmen.—Current.—Etesian winds.—Delicious climate and scenery on the banks of the Nile.—Feast of Bairam.—Conversation with learned pilgrims.—Their notions of geography and history.—The Arctic regions.—First sight of Cairo and the Egyptian pyramids.—Striking peculiarities and varieties of the population.—Hospitable reception at the British residency.—Character of Colonel Missett and his suite and parties.—Visits to all the objects of interest in Cairo and its environs.—Anecdotes of Oriental ideas and manners.—View of Cairo from the citadel.—Ignorance of villagers.—State of European society in Cairo generally.

On the 22nd of September, all being ready for my journey to Cairo, I left Alexandria by the Rosetta gate, and passing over the battle-field of General Abercrombie's death, and along the shore of Aboukir, the scene of Nelson's victory, we traversed the site of the ancient city of Canopus, so famed for its rejuvenating fountains, whose waters had the power of restoring health and beauty to the aged and decayed, but of which nothing now remains but heaps of frag-

ments in brick and marble scattered over the plain. Arriving at the margin of the Lake Etko, we traversed its waters, and entered on a sandy desert, till we came in sight of the minarets of Rosetta, which afforded an agreeable relief to the eye, after the wide waste of yellow sands, and its insufferable glare.

We reached Rosetta some time after sunset, and found good quarters in one of the caravanseries of the town. On the next morning I waited on the British Vice-consul, a Levantine, but who always put on a European military officer's uniform when he received any travellers from England or France. Nothing could exceed his politeness in accompanying me to all the points of interest in this prettily situated, and in many respects agreeable little town. Its Arabic name is Rasheed; and it is erroneously considered by the inhabitants to be the birthplace of the celebrated caliph, Haroun-el-Raschid — meaning Aaron the Just—which they have more literally translated as Aaron of Rosetta; the latter being the name used by Europeans only, and probably of Italian origin. The town stands on the western bank of the Nile, with the full stream flowing northward in front of it to the sea, a distance of some ten or twelve miles, with a boghaz, or bar of sand banks,

which makes the entrance very difficult and dangerous. The fertile Delta presents a rich level plain in front of the town, beyond the Nile, which lies between them; and the gardens in and around Rosetta, with the graceful towers or minarets of the mosques, and the excellent Turkish baths, of which, after my journey, I was glad to partake, as well as its spacious quays, serving as a wharf for merchandise and a pleasant promenade along the river's bank, made up a combination of most agreeable objects.

Wherever we went, however, our European dress attracted attention; the men gazing in silence—the women and children setting up a shriek either of surprise or alarm, and the dogs, as numerous here as in Constantinople and Smyrna, following at our heels with their yelling and howling bark. It must be confessed, however, that the costume of the Vice-consul was such as would have drawn a crowd around him in any town of England. His stature was at least six feet six inches; his form remarkably slender, and his legs so thin as to seem quite inadequate to the support of even his attenuated trunk. His dress consisted of a pair of white kersemere pantaloons as tight as the skin, and carried up to within six inches of the arm-pits, for the sake of displaying a profusion of dark braiding in front, after

the Hungarian fashion, with a pair of Hessian boots and gold tassels. The waistcoat was not more than eight inches in depth, to prevent its covering the braiding of the pantaloons; and the flaps of the coat, which was bright scarlet, were equally short, leaving an immense length of coat-tails, descending to a sharp point, and covered, wherever possible, with gold embroidery; a silk sash and long straight sword hung from the upper waist, and his head was crowned with one of those lofty pyramidal cocked-hats which rise to a great height in the centre, and being worn at right angles, like a parish beadle's, presented a most imposing front; and as he was preceded by a janissary with a large silver-headed stick, to clear the way, the boys who crowded round our path flew in all directions at his near approach. Contrasted with the loose flowing robes of the Arabs and Turks, the whole appearance of the Consul was as ridiculous as it was striking; he seemed like a man sewn up in garments never intended to be taken off, and so tightly laced and buttoned as to realise exactly the picture which the Persian Ambassador in London presents to his friend Mohammed at Ispahan, of the contrast between his own dress and that of the English people: —

"Thro' London streets, with turban fair,
And caftan floating to the air,
I saunter on, the admiration
Of this short-coated population;
This sewed-up race, this buttoned nation,
Who, while they boast their laws so free,
Leave not one limb at liberty;
But live, with all their lordly speeches,
The slaves of buttons and tight breeches."

I was really glad, when our excursion was over, to be relieved from the penance of being thus followed by a crowd; and enjoyed exceedingly the luxury of a Turkish bath before returning to repose.

On the following morning I took my departure for Cairo in one of the large Nile boats, called jerms, undecked in the fore-part for carrying cargo in bulk, and having a half-deck abaft, with very scanty accommodation for passengers; but the climate was so delicious at this time of the year, September, that it was most agreeable to be on deck, at night as well as by day. It being the period when the Nile is at its height, the stream ran with great velocity, four or five miles an hour, towards the sea; and the river was so full, that on both sides, the Libyan and the Delta, the water was everywhere up to a level with the land, and in most cases overflowed it. The limits of the channel or river's bed were then marked

by the palm groves on its banks, and the villages built on mounds to prevent their being submerged; while the interior beyond the banks, as far as we could see, seemed to be a vast lake studded with little islands, formed of the elevated mounds on which the villages are built; the communication between them being by raised causeways when the distance is short, and by boats when it is greater. Each village, too, was surrounded with palm groves of dates, and from the flat-roofed dwellings of the villages, rose innumerable pigeon-houses, in little towers, which gave a strange appearance to the whole scene.

The boat, which was about fifty tons burden, was navigated by a crew of some twenty men, with dark swarthy skins, naked, except a rag of cloth around the waist; and they seemed almost amphibious, for whenever a turn or bend of the river made the velocity of the stream greater, they leaped overboard, and with a hawser passed along from hand to hand, drew the vessel against the current. The large ample lateen sails, of white cotton, were powerful agents, however, in forcing us over the stream; and by a wise and beneficent arrangement of Nature, the Etesian winds, as they were called by the ancients, blow with increased force from the north at the very season when the counter current of the Nile runs strongest

from the south; so that its stream is navigable at this period both ways, with great ease, the ascending boats spreading all sail to the fresh breeze, and thus gliding over the surface of the current, while the descending boats strike their masts and yards, having then no sails, and making their hulls deep in the water, and keeping at right angles with the current, they are carried down by its mere velocity at a rate of five miles an hour at least.

As in my several visits to Malta I had made myself acquainted with its corrupt Arabic, and during my stay at Alexandria had studied diligently the more correct language of Egypt, to which, however, the Maltese was a great help, I could already converse pretty freely with the natives, and this made the voyage far less tedious than it would have been. As it was really a trading voyage on the part of the reis or head, for so the captain was called, we stopped at almost every village of importance on the way, and buying and selling, bartering and exchange, occupied several hours at each; for nothing can be conceived more tardy, or vociferous, or vacillating than their modes of transacting business. Everywhere, however, the scenery, though perfectly flat, was beautiful from the extreme fertility which everywhere abounded; and our walks in the gardens and groves near the villages,

while the boat was detained, were most agreeable. The delicious shade formed by the wild and luxuriant union of date trees, sycamores, orange bowers, lemon walks, and the leaves of the broad banana,—the delightful solitude which invited to repose, and the silence which reigned around, broken only by the waving foliage of the trees and the chirping of birds, the freshness of the breeze tempering the balmy warmth of the air,—everything, in short, that belonged to Nature invited to love and happiness; but amidst these pleasing dreams, some wretched peasant, or some miserable hut, destroyed the charm of the illusion, and proved how much despotic government can mar the greatest blessings both of nature and of art.

It was now the commencement of the Feast of Bairam, which immediately follows the long Mohammedan fast of the Ramadan. During this fast no true Moslem either eats or drinks, or smokes or inhales perfume, or in any way gratifies his appetite between sunrise and sunset,—and I believe these privations are rigidly and faithfully endured, — so that more than usual merriment and festivity were observable in the feast which succeeded it. I had with me Volney's Travels in Egypt, Savary's Letters, Denon's Voy-

age, De Paauw's Researches on the Egyptians and Chinese, Hamilton's Egyptiaea, White's Egypt, Pococke's, Norden's, and Browne's Travels, and Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, and Pliny; so that I was abundantly provided with the means of filling up several hours of the day by reading; and my Journal, should it ever be published, would bear testimony to my diligence, as I find the Manuscript Diary of my Voyage from Alexandria to Cairo to occupy nearly a hundred pages. But all this must be passed over here.

I cannot omit, however, to mention the subject of a conversation with some of the passengers,—learned pilgrims as they considered themselves — honoured with the title of Hadjee, as having performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, — for the purpose of showing the crass ignorance which prevails among those who are deemed the best informed; and at the same time illustrating by a single fact, how the spread of accurate geographical or scientific knowledge would tend to weaken their confidence in the infallibility of Mohammed and the Koran.

In conversing with them on the subject of Geography and History, their ignorance of both was profound; and their credulity not less remarkable. All the idle tales which had been current among the

ancients and the people of the middle ages, respecting Africa and its inhabitants, —

> "The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders,"—

were by them firmly believed as established truths. I had myself read in Dallaway's Constantinople, of a Turkish Gazetteer, published in that capital, which he says contained an account of the West India Islands, and asserted as a fact, that in one of these were certain trees, which produced, as their fruit, beautiful women, who, when perfectly ripe, dropped from the branches, uttering a cry of "Yak! yak!" —"come, and enjoy me;" and also that in some parts of America there was a race of people who combined in their single persons both sexes, — being a male before and a female behind, and being therefore capable of becoming a father and a mother at the same time! I questioned these Turks on this subject, and they seemed to have no difficulty in believing it, nor the slightest doubt of its truth. But when I told them that there were portions of the earth where the sun was six months above the horizon, and six months below it, so that sunrise and sunset happened in such regions only twice in the year, they were as indignant as they were astonished, at what they deemed

so blasphemous an assertion. "In that case," said they, "how would it be possible for the Prophet's injunction to be observed?—he commanded all true believers to fast from sunrise to sunset during the fast of Ramadan, and in such a region this would be impossible." The rotundity of the earth and its diurnal revolution appeared to be equally strange and incredible; and they were exceedingly diverted at the idea of men standing with their heads downwards at the antipodes, without falling into the sky; the notion of gravitation causing each to adhere to the surface by the power of attraction in the centre of the globe, being one which they could not comprehend in the smallest degree. I had reason to believe, however, from many observations that passed between them afterwards, that the fact of there being a portion of the world unknown to Mohammed, and where his injunction of fasting from sunrise to sunset could not be carried into effect, went far to shake their confidence in his infallibility; and it convinced me that Mohammedanism could never be more effectually undermined than by the diffusion of scientific knowledge, in which the Moslems are at present so generally deficient.

I pass over many other incidents occurring in this first voyage on the Nile, and shall merely add that on

the fourth day after our leaving Rosetta, we passed the apex of the Delta, where the stream divides into two branches, one going northwestward to Rosetta, and the other northeastward to Damietta, making the two sides of the triangle, of which the sea-coast running east and west is the base, that gives its name to this insular portion of Egypt, from its resemblance to the Delta of the Greek alphabet. By the Egyptians themselves the whole district below Cairo is called Bahri, or the province near the sea, in contradistinction from the Said, as all Egypt above Cairo is named. On passing the apex of the Delta, we first obtained sight of the pyramids of Gizeh, in the western or Libyan desert, with their outlines clearly defined against a bright blue sky, and looking much nearer from the transparency of the atmosphere than they really were. It would be almost writing a history to give utterance to the thousand associations which these ancient, venerable, and stupendous monuments of human labour awakened in my mind: ages appeared to pass in review before me; the volume of Time seemed re-opened to my perusal; and obscure as were its early pages, the permanence of the characters in which these sepulchral piles were traced, seemed to triumph over desolation and decay.

At length we approached the end of our voyage,

and came in sight of Cairo, on the left bank of the Nile as you ascend, or to the east of the stream, while the town of Gizeh on the west, and the beautiful little Island of Rhoda, in which the ancient Nilometer is placed, with its splendid rows of sycamores, fills the centre of the stream. The city of Cairo itself, seated at the foot of the Mokattem-hills; its dome-topped mosques and countless minarets; the forests of lateen masts crowded along the wharves of Boulac, the landing place for the city; the swelling Nile covering whole islands and provinces with its abundant waters; the fleets of boats sailing through canals along the rice grounds and fields in every direction, seeming to be skimming the surface of the fields themselves, from the verdure intercepting the view of the channels; the towns and villages, that studded this variegated carpet of nature; the busy hum of commerce, which was already audible; with the silent desolation of the desert on one side, and a splendid and populous city on the other, seated at the foot of imposing hills, and full of life and motion; the endless diversities of figures, dresses, complexions, religions, manners, and even languages, of the crowds who passed in review before us,—all contributed to form a picture more resembling the effect of fairy enchantment than reality. Neither London nor Lisbon, the only two metropolitan cities

that I had yet seen seated, like Cairo, on the banks of a commercial river, and with each of which I was familiar, have anything like this eastern capital. Both on the Thames and the Tagus almost everything is characteristic of the prevailing national taste and manners; but at this emporium of oriental opulence on the Nile, the diversity is so endless, that it is impossible to point out any one style or character which prevails above another; and if I experienced strange sensations on landing at Alexandria, I felt infinitely more on my first approach to Cairo, to which even Europeans have prefixed the epithet of "Grand," and which the Arabs dignify by the expressive though bombastic title of "The Mother of the World."

After passing my first night at Cairo, in the house of Mr. Aziz, the Armenian who filled the situation of Vice-consul at that city, I repaired on the following day to the residence of the Consul-general, Colonel Missett, at Boulac, the most healthy and agreeable locality, close by the river Nile, and presented the letters of introduction which I brought with me from Smyrna and Alexandria. Nothing could be more courteous or hospitable than my reception. I was requested to make the Residency, as it was called, my home; apartments were assigned to me, containing every domestic convenience, indeed luxury; and

the only drawback to my pleasure was the feeling that so much enjoyment could only be temporary.

I must here give a brief description of the worthy and estimable group of friends among whom I now sojourned for awhile. Colonel Missett was a distinguished officer of the Enniskillen dragoons, and a perfect specimen of an Irish gentleman; courageous and chivalrous to the last degree,—an ardent admirer of the fair sex,—a *bon vivant* of great refinement,—as choice in his table and wines as in his companions,—an admirable recounter of anecdotes of military and diplomatic life,—an excellent singer of after-dinner songs, one of his favourites being—

> "I traversed Judah's barren sands,
> At Beauty's altar to adore;
> But there the Turk had spoiled the land,
> And Zion's daughters were no more;"

and though, from paralysis of all his extremities, he was quite unable to use either his legs or arms—being wheeled to table in a chair, and his food cut up for him by his valet—his trunk, heart, and head were perfectly sound; for though he lived freely or generously, he had excellent digestion, good sleep, and his benevolence and high spirits were both constantly overflowing. On the whole, I have never met, before

or since, a more fascinating man than Colonel Missett. Forming part of his household was a merry and light-hearted officer of dragoons from Piedmont, Major Taberna, whose feats of arms and camp adventures formed endless materials for conversation; Mr. Thurburn, the colonel's secretary, a more quiet but more intelligent and instructive companion, and full of the gentlemanly qualities by which the colonel himself was so much distinguished; and Captain Molesworth, of some English regiment of dragoons, who was on a mission to Egypt to procure horses for the British cavalry. Nothing could surpass the pleasure of our lives: our breakfasts were sumptuous,—our dinners perfectly Apician, composed and prepared by the *ex-chef-de-cuisine* of the King of Naples; our morning rides, on the most tractable Arabs, varied every day to different parts of the city and its environs, were exhilarating from the delicious nature of the climate and the novelty of the objects seen; and our evening parties, often graced with the visits of European and Levantine ladies from Boulac and Cairo, and sometimes terminated by a ball, in which handsome Turkish women from the harems of distinguished men came as visitors and spectators, and allowed us to compare their beauty with that of other visitors, were sometimes exhaustingly plea-

surable, and made an interval of rest an agreeable relief.

During this happy period, to which I look back as to a dream, I visited, in company with parties formed for the purpose, and under every possible advantage, all the objects of interest or renown within the city and its precincts; but I must content myself with merely naming rather than describing them. 1. The Pyramids, ascending to the summit of that of Cheops, and penetrating into its dark interior; the colossal Sphynx close by; and the Catacombs, where millions of embalmed mummies still lie buried in their bituminous envelopes and hieroglyphic-covered shrouds. 2. The Island of Rhoda; the Nilometer, and the delightful gardens in its neighbourhood. 3. The Citadel of Cairo; its Hall of Joseph, and enormously deep well; with the splendid prospect of the city and surrounding country from its ramparts. 4. The mosques, baths, and bazaars, in all their endless variety. 5. The tombs of the Mamelukes, on the edge of the Desert. 6. Some of the more splendid mansions of the wealthy Jews and Armenians, the interiors of which bring back all the pictures of the Arabian Nights' enchantments. 7. The coffee-houses and story-tellers, who excite laughter or tears alternately by their witty and

pathetic narratives of Oriental adventure, war, love, and their vicissitudes. 8. The Almehs, or professed female dancers, some of whom are handsome; but whose style of exhibition is altogether too voluptuous for European taste; and many other less important objects.

On my visit to the Citadel, I was accompanied by Captain Light of the Royal Artillery, here on his travels, of which he has published a narrative, and who made a beautiful drawing of Cairo from the ramparts. I remember two anecdotes connected with our visit there, which are perhaps worth recording as illustrative of Oriental opinions:—

While the captain was making his drawing, a well-dressed Arab merchant, accompanied by his servants and pipe-bearer, accosted me, and asked "what the officer was doing?" I told him, he was making a drawing of the city, as seen from hence. He inquired, "For what purpose?" I said, "Most probably to refresh his own recollections of the view on his returning home, and possibly also to gratify his friends, or make it still more public." "But how," said the merchant, "will he be able to delineate the crooked and narrow streets, the bazaars, the mosques, the caravanserais, and other objects which can only be seen imperfectly from a height like this?" To which I

replied that this might be accomplished by making a ground plan of the city; and I showed him one of London that I happened to have in a little pocket case among my papers. "Oh!" said he, "such a thing as that can be done with very little trouble." I asked him how? and he answered thus: "When you return to the British Residency, where you say, you are staying, ask the head servant to show you into the lumber room, where everything not immediately wanted is generally stowed away, and where large spiders are sure to be abundant. Get a table placed near one of the inner corners of this room; on one side of the table place a large open bowl of good black ink; and on the other lay out flat the white sheet of paper on which you wish to have your ground plan; then, with a house-broom, disturb the nests of the spiders in the angles of the ceiling till a dozen or so of them drop into the ink bowl, and get thoroughly saturated with the fluid. By means of a straw, or a spoon, help them in succession to get out, place a small heap of sugar on the middle of the sheet of paper; and then set the spiders in succession down at different points of the edge, so that all shall wend their way from different points of the extremities towards the centre. In their progress, their hairy legs and feelers will describe lines of every variety,

strait and crooked, which will do to mark the streets; their heavy bodies will leave large lumps or blots of ink, which will indicate the mosques and larger buildings; and the intervals of white which they leave by not passing over them, will do for the caravanserais, squares and open spaces. When this is dried, and the sugar and spiders removed," he added, "it will give any one as accurate an idea of the ground plan of Cairo, as if all the pains imaginable were taken to describe it." I could but smile at so ingenious a device, which none but an Oriental imagination would possibly have thought of; and the Arab thought me no doubt very obstinate and impenetrable in not immediately consenting to put it into practice.

The other anecdote was this, — Captain Light accompanied me on another occasion into the heart of one of the villages in Egypt, somewhat removed from the banks of the Nile, and where probably no persons in European costume had ever before been seen, for it was quite out of the high road of travel and traffic. As the captain was short-sighted, he always wore spectacles; and at his appearance we observed, that instead of running away, which was the usual course of the women especially, when strange men appeared among them, they stood bolt upright with their legs as close together as they

could put them; and with both arms extended downwards, holding fast their garments as if afraid they would fly upward. We did not at first comprehend the meaning of this: but on inquiring we found that some one in the village had once looked through an English night glass or sea telescope, which reverses the objects seen through it, or turns them upside down; and had proclaimed to the women that the Frank had put on these spectacles for the express purpose of reversing their figures. Not supposing the possibility, therefore, of such a reversal as that of their being turned upside down could possibly happen without the inevitable consequence of their clothes falling over their heads, and thus exposing their bodies in a state of nudity, they did their best to prevent this, by the attitude they assumed, and the fast hold they took of their garments. We had no means of undeceiving them from their error; for as the men were becoming vociferous, and gathering in large and threatening numbers, we thought it best to cut short our excursion, and retired from the village without harm.

I should add that the state of European society at Cairo at this period, with the exception of the parties at the British Residency, was not such as would offer many attractions for a permanent

residence. There were many clever and enterprising men among them, no doubt, especially Mons. Asselan, the Consul-general of France; Signor Drovetti, the Representative of Turin; the brothers Lakti, Balso Piedmontese, — all more or less learned and accomplished, and all engaged in the acquisition of Egyptian antiquities; but the number of political refugees, absconding debtors, and persons of equivocal character from almost every part of the Mediterranean, while it furnished great variety of entertainment in their miscellaneous assemblies, required great caution in forming more intimate acquaintance with them.

CHAP. X.

Offer to transport Ships across the Desert of Suez.—Mode of operation and probable cost.—Proposition for my making an expedition to India.—Proposal to open a Canal from the Nile to the Red Sea.—Departure on a voyage to the Cataracts and Nubia.—Ruins of Memphis.—Pyramids of Saccara and Dashour.—Journey through Faioum to the Lake Mœris and Labyrinth.—Romantic design of gathering morning rose dew, for transmission to England.—Ruins of Antinoë and Hermopolis.—Contrast of styles.

AMIDST all this round of pleasure through which I had now passed, the main object of my visit to Cairo, namely, to obtain some useful and productive employment, was never for a moment forgotten. But the Pasha, Mohammed Ali, was at this period absent on a campaign in Arabia; and communication with him, through secretaries, interpreters, and officers of state, was very slow and tedious. His chief confidential agent left in Cairo was a very clever and gentlemanly Armenian, named Boghos Yuseff, who had, it was said, more influence with the Pasha than any man in his dominions; and his influence was fully secured on my behalf through my excellent friend Colonel Missett.

We learnt from Boghos Yuseff that the Pasha was very desirous of having some fast ships in the Red Sea, and that he had purchased two beautiful American brigs, then in the harbour of Alexandria, for the purpose of arming them and sending them round the Cape of Good Hope; but being told that the East India Company had supreme command of all the Ocean eastward of that Cape, and would seize and confiscate all vessels found in those seas without their licence, he had been deterred from incurring this risk. I therefore proposed to overcome this difficulty by undertaking to transport both these vessels across the Desert, and launch them safely in the Red Sea at Suez, from which they might be equipped and sent wherever the Pasha desired. I was asked to accompany this proposal with some description of the mode in which such an undertaking could be accomplished, and give an estimate of its probable cost, which was accordingly done as follows: —

I proposed to bring the vessels round from Alexandria to Damietta, on which branch of the Nile there is sufficient water for vessels drawing twelve feet to sail all the way up to Boulac, — the landing place of Cairo, — and this period of high Nile was peculiarly favourable for such an operation. When arrived thus far, I proposed to lighten them by

taking out every thing that could be removed, even to the masts; and while thus drawing not more than six feet with their empty hulls, have them hauled up as high on the river's bank as could be done with safety, supporting them in their upright position by stanchions or shores, as vessels are sustained while building on the stocks. As the waters of the Nile would be daily receding, they would soon be left high and dry; and then I proposed to construct under the bottoms of each, the "cradle," as it is called, in which ships are embedded at the time of launching, for the purpose of keeping the hulls steady. The next process would be to pass hawsers from stem to stern round the whole of the hull, just at the height of the bends, so as to keep the whole framework compact, this "frapping," as it is technically called, being made as tight as possible. To each hull there should be attached, by rings and ropes passing round the whole of the hull, a horizontal spar before the stem or cutwater, and within four feet of the keel. To this spar might be yoked four rows of camels, buffaloes, or horses, of twelve or fifteen in each; and by the aid of rollers, to be placed beneath the keel, and replenished as required, these animals would easily draw across the Desert, from Cairo to Suez, the two brigs in question; while

their masts, rigging, and stores could follow on waggons prepared for the purpose, and drawn by animals in the same way. As the road from Cairo to Suez is not soft sand, but a clay soil embedded with gravel, and with scarcely any elevations or depressions beyond a few feet, there would not be the slightest difficulty in accomplishing the task; and as the Pasha could command the labour of as many men, horses, buffaloes, and camels as he pleased, at rates of pay which would barely cover subsistence, the cost would not exceed 1000*l.* sterling for each of the vessels so transported.

Colonel Missett and Yuseff Boghos were equally pleased with the proposal and satisfied of its practicability; and advices were sent off to the Pasha to learn his determination, but for which we should have to wait some weeks, if not months, before we could get an answer. In the mean time, I received a letter from Mr. Peter Lee, the head of the mercantile house at Alexandria, and British Consul there, in answer to one I had written him about my proceeding to India, which greatly revived my hopes, and of which the following is an extract: —

"I may possibly have it in my power to give stability to your views, gratify your curiosity, add to your stock of useful information, and enable you to return here. Your

expenditure under my roof will not increase, nor shall we remain idle. Mr. Schutz and myself have it in contemplation to establish a house of business at Cairo, principally with a view to the India trade. We have to furnish an intelligent gentleman at Bombay with our ideas, and all the necessary information on the subject, and I conceive that it may possibly be of some advantage to you to be the bearer of our letter, as well as communicating personally what may be digested here. Such verbal communications may be rendered much more ample than they could be by letter, and your personal appearance as a friend of ours, or a person attached to our establishment, might be the means of insuring you the confidence of our friend, whose object is to employ two or three ships constantly from Bombay to Suez. I think a command of one of them, connected with a supercargoship, could be offered you; — in short, I am persuaded that you might make yourself useful to such an establishment as we have in view, in some way or another; and I am myself very desirous of contributing towards your settlement; for a man of your feeling and sentiment must not be a wanderer.

"Allow hope to cheer you, my dear Sir, and rely upon my wishes and efforts to open a fairer prospect for you. In order that all this may be combined, of course we must have some long conversations together; but as the business is not very urgent, you need not hurry yourself. It was not until after your departure that Mr. Schutz and myself talked of this project. We both thought of you. He has left me to combine and arrange, and I an-

ticipate that it may be done to mutual satisfaction. More I need not say to you just now. Friendship has dictated what I have said. If I have inspired you with confidence, I assure you the feeling is reciprocal."

No sooner had the idea of renewing the ancient commerce between India and the Mediterranean by way of the Red Sea, taken possession of my mind, than I began to think how much this would be facilitated by the juncture of the two seas by a navigable Canal; and I bent all my thoughts to this object. I felt satisfied, from all I had read and considered on the subject, that the work could be achieved, as well in modern times as it had been in ancient. A supplementary dispatch was therefore forwarded to the Pasha in Arabia, in which I offered my services to examine the whole track of the Isthmus of Suez, for the purpose of ascertaining its present condition, and reporting to him all the information I should be able to gather on the subject; being satisfied that no work could be undertaken which would redound more to his honour, or confer more benefit on his country, than thus shortening the navigable route between the Eastern and the Western world.

As I had now seen everything of interest in Cairo and its environs, and as some considerable time would elapse before we could receive replies to the propo-

sitions forwarded to the Pasha in Arabia, I expressed a desire to employ the interval by making a voyage on the Nile, from Cairo to the Cataracts, inspecting the most remarkable monuments in the way, and then descending to Keneh, cross over the Desert to Cosseir on the Red Sea, and sailing from thence up to Suez, by which I should have an opportunity of examining that Arabian Gulf and ascertaining its chief hydrographical peculiarities, preparatory to the renewed commerce contemplated by that route.

A Nile-boat of a lighter kind than the jerm, called a kanjia, with a sufficient crew and ample supply of provisions, was placed at my disposal, in the service of the Pasha, by his agent, Boghos Yuseff; and I was furnished not only with the Pasha's firman or passport, but with a circular letter or order to each of the local governors on the whole of my proposed route, to furnish me with whatever aid I might require for the prosecution of my voyage. I was accompanied by an Italian servant, Giovanni, who had long resided in Egypt, and was in every respect well qualified for the duties he had to perform.

We left Cairo on the 29th of October, the Nile still high in its inundation, but beginning to be stationary in its rise, just previous to the commencement of its gradually subsiding, which occupies many

months before it reaches its lowest point in June. The climate was delicious; and I can conceive no greater enjoyment than voyaging on such a river, with a well-appointed boat and crew, every reach or bend of the stream presenting objects of novelty and historical interest; varied by the changes of wind and calm, of sailing, towing, excursions on foot or on horseback along the shore, and visits to some of the most remarkable monuments of the world, returning every evening to the boat as a home, with a vigorous appetite, abundance of food of all kinds, and the delicious water of the Nile, which, when properly filtered and cooled in the long-necked jars used for that purpose, is the brightest, freshest, and most agreeable water as a beverage perhaps in the world.

I had with me now, through the kindness of Colonel Missett, an increase to my little library; including Shaw, Maillett, Niebuhr, and Bruce, with the learned and able illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus by Rennell, which, added to those before named, furnished me with all the authorities I could desire, and helped to fill up many agreeable hours on board.

The first place at which I landed was on the site of the ancient Memphis, the ruins of which are perhaps more scanty, and the glories of which more

completely obliterated than that of any other equally celebrated city of ancient days—even Babylon, Nineveh, and Carthage, desolate as they all are, having more vestiges of their ancient grandeur remaining than Memphis. Its very position, indeed, has been matter of controversy among geographers; but Rennell has entirely settled that question; and the tradition of the Arabs and the name of the village on its site, called Menph and Menouf, corroborate his conclusion. The only actual monument of its ancient greatness is a colossal granite statue, now lying prostrate in the sands, equal in size to the colossi of Thebes, but much more mutilated; but of the temples of Osiris, Vulcan, and Venus, of the Serapeum, Hippodromes, Squares; and Circus,—its celebrated White Castle, which formed the military fortress of the Persians,—of these, as well as the sphynxes, obelisks, and sacred groves of which the ancient historians make mention, not a vestige now remains, though the scattered *débris* of its former grandeur extends over a space of more than five miles in length.

It is here that the valley of the Nile begins to narrow itself, by the approach of the Libyan hills on the one side, and what are called the Arabian hills on the other; and below this, to the northward, the surface of Egypt widens by the spread of the

Delta. This corresponds perfectly with the description given of this God of Rivers, by the chief priest Achoreus, when entertaining Cæsar at the banquet of Cleopatra in Alexandria, where he says, in the version of Lucan:—

"Mountains and deserts Nature's hand provides,
To bank thy too luxurious river's tides;
As in a vale thy current she restrains,
Nor suffers thee to spread the Libyan plains;
At Memphis first free liberty she yields,
And lets thee loose to float the thirsty fields."

From hence the Great Pyramids of Gizeh are still visible, standing as they do on that portion of the rock in the sandy Desert, which was excavated for the catacombs or mummy pits, and forming the great Cemetery or Necropolis of Memphis itself. As we sailed southward we passed, on the same side of the Nile, the west or Libyan, the more numerous Pyramids of Saccara and Dashour, numbering in the whole some thirty or forty, all of inferior altitude, materials, and workmanship to the Great Pyramids of Gizeh; but each, no doubt, like their prototypes, the sepulchre of some distinguished personage.

The present condition of the inhabitants of Egypt is, however, greatly inferior, no doubt, to that of the ancient possessors of this fertile territory; for though

it yields no less abundantly than ever, the rapacious government and its subordinate officers exact so heavy a tax on all the produce, that bare subsistence is all that is left to those whose toil creates this wealth. How different from the picture drawn of Egypt under the Ptolemies, by Theocritus!

"Jove's favourites, Heaven protected at their birth,
Held the bright sceptre o'er the subject earth,
While, rising from the rich prolific shower,
Wide plenty waved, and myriads blessed their power.
Secure from ravages or slaughtering arms,
The rustic reaped the produce of his farms;
Pastured his herds where Nile o'erflows the coast,
Nor feared the navies of th' invading host."

As night approached, the captain insisted on mooring the boat, though, as the sky was clear, the moonlight bright, and no serious impediments existed to the navigation of the stream, we might have proceeded with safety; but in the East nothing is done in a hurry; time is deemed of little value, and custom is paramount above all reasoning. I therefore resigned myself to the order, and passed the hours till midnight in entertaining conversation with the veteran reis. Though he had lived upon the water for nearly half a century, he had never descended the Nile below Cairo, or even seen the sea; so that

my accounts of the Ocean and its perils had all the terror and all the charm of a romance for him; and he looked upon me with additional veneration for the wonders I had described to him.

As we approached that part of Egypt which includes the province of Faioum, where the celebrated Lake of Mœris, the Labyrinth, and the Pyramids, visited and described by Herodotus in his Euterpe, are placed, I devoted a few days to an excursion on horseback to this celebrated spot. We passed through large tracts of land devoted exclusively to the cultivation of roses, extending for miles, and producing millions upon millions of this queen of flowers, from which nearly all the rose-water, and otto or oil of roses, used in and exported from Egypt to all parts of the world, is distilled. Let me confess to a piece of romantic or sentimental folly as some will deem it, or of affection as others may regard it, which I began to practise here. I had with me a small cut glass vase or bottle, procured at Cairo, into which I began to collect the dew-drops from roses every morning, wherever I found them, and there are few gardens in Egypt without that flower, intending to store them up, till the bottle was full, as collected by my own hand from day to day, and therefore the more worthy of being presented to my

dear wife; to whom I ultimately sent them, round the Cape of Good Hope, from India, with some appropriate verses, which will be recorded in their proper place. I can only say, that after my morning's devotions, this was one of the most agreeable occupations of the day; and I should have accounted it as a severe misfortune if I had either broken or lost this little treasure, which increased in worth and importance, in my own estimation at least, every day.

The time of my excursion was sufficient to enable me to see much of the memorable site of the ancient Lake and its accessories; and some fifty pages of my Journal are filled with the result of my researches, but there is neither time nor space to record them here. I must content myself with transcribing one solitary passage only.

"It is scarcely possible to describe in too glowing colours the riches and fertility of the soil over which we passed in the continuation of our route from Hillahoun to Médineh Faioum. All around us seemed one wide garden, crossed and intersected with a thousand meandering rivulets (for such the smallest of these serpentine canals appeared), realising the expression of Moses, who speaks of Egypt as being 'watered like a garden of herbs,' and strewed with

groves and fields, flocks and hamlets, and a teeming population. The heart expands on witnessing such delightful scenes; and on recurring to the source of all this indescribable fertility, one no longer wonders at the veneration in which the ancients held the Nile, 'than whom,' says Plutarch, 'no god was ever more solemnly worshipped;' and the grand annual festival in favour of which, says Heliodorus, 'was the most solemn of all those observed by the Egyptians, who regarded their river as the rival of heaven, since, without clouds or rain, he watered and fertilised the land.' Its priests, too, are often expressly mentioned by Herodotus; and on comparing the Borysthenes to the Danube, he says, 'In my opinion, this river is more productive, not only of all the rivers of Scythia, but than every other river in the world, except the Egyptian Nile. The Nile, it must be confessed, (he adds,) disdains all comparison.' — *Melpomene*, 53. On beholding the treasures which its stream disperses, we cannot but forgive, if not admire, a superstition which seems to have originated in excess of gratitude, and to recognise the truth of the picture drawn by Virgil: —

"Here, where with seven-fold horns, mysterious Nile,
Surrounds the skirts of Egypt's fruitful isle,

And where, in pomp, the sun-burnt people ride
On painted barges o'er the teeming tide;
Which, pouring down from Ethiopian lands,
Makes green the soil with slime and black prolific sands."

Returning to the boat, we continued our course on the Nile, halting at Miniesh, a populous and flourishing town on the western bank, and thence onward to the ruins of Antinoë, on the eastern; a city built by the Roman Emperor Adrian, and so called after his favourite, the beautiful Antinous, who was drowned in the Nile. I passed a whole day amid these ruins, which have all the grandeur of Roman times, the architecture being chiefly Corinthian; and the number of edifices, colonnades, and partially dilapidated public structures that still remain, make up a scene of great beauty, though in desolation.

On the following day I visited the first Egyptian architectural monument to be seen on ascending the Nile, namely, the portico of the Temple of Hermopolis. It was like passing from St. Paul's Cathedral to Westminster Abbey; the former well calculated to excite admiration for its noble proportions and fine architectural effect, but the latter inspiring feelings of awe and devotion, amid the "dim religious light" of its coloured glass, lofty aisles, and fretted roof.

A single paragraph from my Journal of that day will express this more fully:—

"When I dismounted and approached its gigantic columns, I know not whether their colossal size, their rich invention, or their exquisite finish attracted my regard most strongly; but this I perfectly remember, that—while lost amidst the commingled feelings which the pillared portico of this massive pile inspired, regretting the lost language of its inscriptive figures, and admiring the happiest union of pure simplicity, luxuriant ornament, and everlasting strength, — I felt, beneath its awe-inspiring roof, a sensation of humility and devotion, which Antinoë, with all its beauties of the picturesque, or all the sadness of its desolating ruins, had not the power to create."

CHAP. XI.

Visit a caravan of slaves from the interior of Africa.—Stay amidst the ruins of the hundred-gated Thebes.—First interview with Mr. Burckhardt at Esné.—Reach Syené.—The frontiers of Egypt and Nubia.—Proceed further, till rendered blind by ophthalmia.—Return to Esné.—Letter of Mr. Burckhardt and second meeting.—Halt at Keneh, for my desert journey to Cosseir.

ASCENDING the Nile, we next passed Manfalout, a still larger town than Minieh, and being one of the military stations, remarkable for the general profligacy of its inhabitants, when at length we reached Siout, the capital of Upper Egypt, and the place at which the slave caravans from the interior of Africa make their first halt on the borders of the Nile. Such a caravan had just arrived from Darfour, and I accordingly took the opportunity of visiting it. Nothing could be more wretched than the condition of the poor captives; some quite infants, others decrepit from age, and a large number of the male youths castrated to serve as eunuchs in the harems of the Turks; while the females were rigidly guarded, and

their chastity preserved by means which were most cruel, but cannot with propriety be described. I visited also the extensive range of excavated Egyptian tombs in the neighbouring mountains, forming the sepulchres of the old Lycopolis, or City of the Wolf; but all this must be passed over.

In the course of our farther ascent up the Nile, we halted at Akmeen, or Panopolis, at Ptolemais, at El Araba Medfoun, or the Buried City, the Abydos of antiquity, where the sumptuous Temple of Osymandyas was placed, the remains of which are among the most remarkable in Egypt; thence to Diosopolis Parva, the beautiful Temple of Isis at Tentyra, Coptos, and Apollinopolis Parva, till we approached the hundred-gated Thebes, undoubtedly the most splendid and wonderful city of the world, either in ancient or modern times.

I remained here a month, and such a month I never remember to have passed in all my existence. There are some objects that defy description, partly from their multifarious nature, and partly from the want of terms in which to convey ideas, and this is one of them. An entire year would be insufficient to exhaust its investigation, and every day would only increase one's wonder. No marvel, therefore, that Denon should say, that as he gazed he doubted

whether he was really awake, or whether it was all a dream, and that he actually rubbed his eyes, and pinched himself to see whether he was in a vision or not. No wonder that Homer, who probably himself saw its wonders, should describe it in such lofty terms as Hecatompolis, the hundred-gated, and add:—

"Not all proud Thebes unrivalled walls contain,
The world's great Empress on th' Egyptian plain;
That spreads her conquests o'er a thousand states,
And pours her heroes through a hundred gates;
Two hundred horsemen, and two hundred cars,
From each wide portal issuing to the wars."

As far as our limited time would admit, I saw and examined all:—the splendid Hall of Columns, the most imposing array of architectural grandeur that the mind can conceive,—the avenues of sphinxes,—the towering obelisks,—the colossal statues,—the Memnonium,—the Tombs of the Kings in the Valley of Death;—and though I have read almost every work published on Egypt since then, and seen every drawing or engraving of its antiquities, it still seems to me now, as it did at the time, more like a vision of another world than a scene in this. Indeed, if the theory (I think of Bishop Berkely) be true, that the true duration of time is not to be measured by the

hours and minutes of the clock, but by the number of ideas that pass through the mind, and the number of sensations that occupy the heart, I must say, that by such a standard, I lived a year at least in Thebes, and certainly thought and felt more within that period than in any similar one before or since. My Manuscript Journal of Thebes alone would fill a large octavo volume.

I quitted Thebes with inexpressible regret; and ascending the Nile, we made a short stay at Hermonthes, and a longer halt at Esné, the ancient Latopolis, the portico of whose beautiful temple is an object of universal admiration. What interested me still more than any antiquities here, however, was my first meeting with Mr. Burckhardt, known in the East under the name of Sheik Ibrahim, whose reputation as an Eastern traveller preparing for a journey of discovery in the interior of Africa had caused him to be an object of general interest to all Europeans. Mr. Burckhardt was staying here on the expectation of some advices from Cairo, previous to his starting on his Desert Journey to Abyssinia; and hearing of the arrival of a boat with an English traveller, he hastened down to the river's bank, came on board, and introduced himself, speaking excellent English. He was dressed in the commonest garments, as an Arab

peasant or small trader, with a blue cotton blouse, covering a coarse shirt, loose white trousers, and a common calico turban round his head; he had a full dark beard, was without stockings, wearing only the slip-shod slippers of the country, and looked so completely like an Arab of the north,—a Syrian, having a fairer complexion and lighter eyes than the Egyptians,—that few would have suspected him to be a Swiss, as he really was, but have taken him to be a native of Antioch or Aleppo, the dialect of Arabic which he spoke being of that region also. Colonel Missett, I learnt, had written him respecting me in such terms as to make him very anxious to meet with me. We spent the evening together at the house of the Turkish Governor of Esné, with whom we supped and were hospitably entertained, and agreed to meet again on board my boat early in the morning.

As he was with us before sunrise—early rising being universal in this country—we had our simple breakfast of coffee and rice-pilau prepared, of which he partook; and we were so intensely and mutually interested in each other's conversation, that we continued together, seated in the boat in uninterrupted talk till sunset, with scarcely an interval of pause between; for at our noon-day and sunset meals our conversation still continued in unabated volubility.

The truth is, that the meeting of two Europeans in so remote a spot from their respective homes, makes them friends and brothers at once; and as each is sure to have a large amount of sympathy, bottled up as it were, for want of reciprocal exercise, it is sure on such occasions to overflow; while the history and experience of each is so new to the other, that in the frankness of unlimited confidence, each narrates the leading incidents of his own life and adventures, and both parties are mutually gratified. Mr. Burckhardt gave me a full account of his residence at Basle, his birthplace in Switzerland; his early desire for African travel; his visit and detention at Paris; his subsequent sojourn in London, and engagement by the African Association to undertake a journey of exploration at their charge and on their account; his preparation for the hardships of such an undertaking; submitting himself to intense degrees of heat,—sleeping on the ground in the open air, and feeding on what would be deemed the coarsest and most repulsive substances as food. He described to me also his journeys in Syria and Palestine, which were all merely preparatory to his great African enterprise; his residence at Aleppo; his researches in the Auranites east of the river Jordan; his visit to Petra, then scarcely known, having been just previously

discovered by Mr. Setzen, a German travelling in the service of the King of Saxony; and his subsequent stay at Cairo, previous to his coming here. His present intention was to go from hence to Dongola and Darfour in the interior of Africa, thence through Abyssinia to the Red Sea, and cross over to Mecca to join the pilgrimage; and we both indulged the hope, that as I was also bound in that direction, we might again meet at Jedda, or elsewhere. Mr. Burckhardt was unexpectedly detained another day, which we also passed together; after which we finally parted with mutual regret; he to pursue his weary and solitary journey by land, and I to complete my voyage on the Nile.

On the following morning we sailed upward, and made a short halt at Edfou, the Apollinopolis Magna of the ancients, whose majestic temple is in a more perfect state of preservation than any I had yet seen —Tentyra, perhaps, alone excepted — and the colossal proportions of which exceed everything in Egypt out of Thebes. Our next halt was at Koum Ombos, the Crocodilopolis of the ancients, where the river-god was an object of worship, to whom temples were erected, though odious to the Tentyrites, as we learn from Juvenal; there being sects and sectarian hatreds under the most corrupt idolatries, as there are still,

unfortunately, under the purer reign of the Gospel; the votaries of each consigning the heretics who do not embrace their peculiar views to excommunication and everlasting destruction; and yet they hope for mercy themselves, though they show none to others!

At length we reached Syené or Assouan, the situation of the Cataracts that terminate the limits of Egypt southward, and form the frontier between it and Nubia. Nothing can exceed the picturesque beauty of the little island of Elephantine, which forms nearly the centre of the group of dark granite rocks that here cross the bed of the Nile at right angles; and being harder than the ordinary sandstone of the mountain ridges, have not been so much worn by the friction of the water, and consequently form the barrier which here interrupts the stream. At high Nile it is just possible to draw boats, when empty, up against the rapids, but at any other period of the year this is impossible, as the height of the fall over the rocks increases in proportion to the subsiding of the river, and at its lowest point it becomes a real Cataract, insurmountable by navigation.

After exploring all the beauties of nature and art, —and they are equally abundant in this delicious spot, about six hundred miles south from the mouth of the Nile in the Mediterranean Sea,— we crossed the line

of the Tropic of Cancer, which nearly intersects the Cataract, and where anciently it was said there was a deep well, which at the summer solstice at noon reflected the image of the sun from its surface. We proceeded southward still into Nubia, visiting the temples of Daboat, Gartaasi, Taefa, where a second cataract or rapid occurs, and beyond this Galabshee, Garfeecy, and Dukké,—all then scarcely known to Europeans, but each presenting details of architecture, sculpture, and painting well worth inspecting. All these temples are in a narrow part of the valley of the Nile, with the merest strip of cultivation on either bank, yielding a precarious subsistence to tribes of Nubians scarcely removed from savages, by their entire ignorance of even the most ordinary rudiments of knowledge, or the commonest arts of life.

It was my intention to have proceeded still farther south, to Ibrahim and Ipsamboul; but I was here afflicted with ophthalmia, one of the scourges of Egypt, which reduced me to a state of complete blindness for fourteen days. During this period I lived entirely upon rice and vegetable food, having no medicine of any kind with me, and passed the entire day in as much darkness as it was possible to make by awnings and coverings on deck, bathing the eyes in

the water of the Nile, keeping them covered with wet bandages as long as they remained cool, and then changing them for fresh ones. These fourteen days seemed almost as many weeks to me, without the power of reading or writing, and with no one near with whom any conversation of interest could be maintained for half an hour in the day. At length, however, by patience, low diet, and continued darkness and moisture, the inflammation abated, and I was enabled to resume my voyage.

Our descent was very rapid, as calms now prevailed, and the current was in our favour; nor did we make any halt till we arrived at Esné, where I stopped to inquire whether Mr. Burckhardt had left on his journey; and on landing at the river's bank, the approach of our boat having been descried at a distance, I found a messenger, who put the following letter from that gentleman into my hands:—

"Esné, December 13. 1813.

"My dear Sir. — The regret I feel at being obliged to leave Esné before your return, much outweighs the pleasure I should else have experienced from being at last enabled to put an end to my tedious stay in Upper Egypt. But this is the unfortunate lot of travellers. They must suddenly part with persons whose character and acquirements have inspired them with the greatest

esteem, in order to mix for months with beings the shapes of whose bodies alone entitle them to the name of human. The hope of mutual remembrance is then the only consolation; and on my part, I beg you to rest assured, that the memory of the two days you kindly granted me at Esné shall never be obliterated from my mind and heart. I am afraid the state of Nubia, after the late invasion of the Osmanleys, has not been altogether propitious to your pursuits. I had expected a note from you from Assouan, but your Reis has not yet made his appearance.

"If you repair to Syria, have the goodness to remember me to Mr. Chaboceau, the French doctor, and at Aleppo, to my friends Messrs. Barker, Masseyk, Wiet, and families. I should be much interested to receive from you some details relative to your excursions in Syria, and more particularly to those *trans Jordanem*. I forgot to mention to you that there is a ruined city called Om-el-Djemal, at the distance of about twenty-five miles S. E. from Bosra, in the Hauran. I have not been able to visit that spot, you may perhaps be more fortunate. I understood during my stay at Bosra, that there are a great number of Greek inscriptions to be met with at Om-el-Djemal. The Chief of the Druses of Hauran, Shibely, can afford you the means to see that place. With the liveliest wishes for your welfare, and the complete success of your projects,

"I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, yours truly,

"IBRAHIM.

"P. S.—A letter addressed to Colonel Missett, will always reach me, at least for the two next years to come."

On inquiring when the writer had departed, the messenger told me he had received the letter on the preceding evening with orders to present it me on my arrival, and that Ibrahim intended leaving Esné at midnight. I immediately dispatched my servant to his house; and some fortunate obstacles having delayed his departure a few hours beyond the appointed one, he was in the act of mounting his camel to repair to the caravan rendezvous, without knowing of our being here, or even expecting our return so soon. He came instantly to the boat, and our joy at meeting was as sincere as the regret we both appeared to have felt at our former separation, nor could there have been any doubt of its mutual sincerity.

Our present interview was shorter than the previous one, but not less marked by pleasure at meeting and pain at separation; after which I hastened on to Keneh, this being the point from whence I intended to commence my journey across the Desert to Cosseir, going from thence probably to Jedda, and then examining hydrographically all the upper portion of the Red Sea, for the purpose of ascertaining the best course to be pursued in preparing for the safety of the ships that might be employed in the restoration of the commerce between India and the Mediterranean by this anciently well-practised, but long-neglected route.

CHAP. XII.

Descent of the Nile from Nubia, and the Cataracts.—Perilous journey across the Desert to Cosseir.—Mysterious Indications of the danger of the way.—Disorganisation and disorder of the Turkish troops.—Mohammed Ali's expedition against the Wahabees.—An Arabian maiden warrior, a second Joan of Arc.—Departure from Kench with an Albanian soldier.—Travelling by night to avoid observation.—Jackals and Hyænas encountered on the route.—Drunken companion.—Robbed of our camels.—Other animals obtained with difficulty.—Arrested by a party of Albanian mutineers.—Stripped of everything, and left naked in the Desert.—Dreadful suffering from wounds, hunger, and thirst.—Hospitality of a "Good Samaritan" Bedouin.—Arrival at Cosseir.—New difficulties there.—Men blown from the cannon's mouth for mutiny.—Return to Kench without effecting my object.

My perilous and disastrous journey across the Desert from the Nile to the Red Sea forms so remarkable an incident in my life, that it will require and deserve a separate chapter for its record; though I shall present it in a greatly abridged form from the Original Journal in which it is transcribed, and which was written while all the circumstances were fresh in my recollection in descending the Nile to Cairo, selecting such portions as may be necessary, (certainly less than

half the original), in a sufficiently connected form to make the narrative continuous and intelligible.

Dec. 23. On descending from Nubia and the Cataracts of the Nile, we were favoured with a fine breeze of wind from the south, and continuing under sail all night, we reached Keneh, on the eastern bank of the stream, at an early hour. My first duty was that of visiting Raffaelli, the Coptic Secretary, to whom I had been already indebted for very kind attentions shown to us during my former stay at this place in our passage up the Nile.

In desiring him to procure us camels for Cosseir, for which place I proposed to depart in the evening, I observed an air of mystery and reserve in his hesitating reply, extremely different from the frankness of his former behaviour; and, ignorant as I was of the cause, it was impossible not to interpret it unfavourably. There were difficulties, he observed, which perhaps could not be surmounted, and it would be therefore prudent in me not to attempt the journey. The manner in which this was uttered increased my anxiety to know them. Was the season unfavourable from the cold of the night dews? Were the roads subject to the incursions of the Bedouins? Or had the flame of war or rebellion been kindled in the Desert? He was not at liberty to answer. I told him that it

would be an act of kindness to explain, since I had undertaken this voyage into Upper Egypt, for the express purpose of visiting Cosseir, Jedda, Tor, and Suez, and that if there was a possibility of my doing it, I was still bent on its accomplishment. He said nothing, but turning his hands round each other to intimate "confusion," as I thought, and afterwards stroking his beard, he fixed his eyes very steadfastly on mine, and broke a silence of several minutes, by asking me if I did not perceive that his beard was white? I answered, yes, but he made no rejoinder; and here at least for half an hour our conversation ceased, leaving me in that unpleasant doubt which mystery naturally creates.

After we had taken coffee, he desired me to walk into the bazaars and public streets, to go through the encampment in the neighbourhood, and thus to solve the riddle he was forbidden to explain.

We were now in the public divan, an hour hence he would grant me a private interview at his house; and if then I still persisted in performing the journey, he would provide the animals for the purpose.

The adoption of his advice most certainly increased my fears. The town everywhere presented a picture widely differing from its aspect when we passed it on our voyage to Assouan, though it was then a scene of

much bustle from the departure of Ibrahim Pasha for Cosseir; but it was now crowded with soldiers who insulted us at every step; my cap was twice taken from my head, and my servant had his watch transferred to the possession of a Mussulman who took it from his pocket under the pretence of seeing the hour, and refused to return it again. Twice were we drawn by force into coffee-houses on the plea of our being surgeons, to examine cases of revolting disease; and when I prescribed advice only, without being able to supply them with medicine, we were paid our fees in abuse of the grossest kind. We had had enough of the military discipline already in the town, without seeking to push our observation further in the camp; and our humiliation was rendered the more mortifying from its being perfectly without redress, as there was not even a governor in the place: all the officers had departed except the captains of the separate companies assembled here, and while they disputed for pre-eminence among themselves, they countenanced the most insulting conduct of their troops.

Both the Copt and myself were punctual in the fulfilment of our engagement at his house; and now that we were uninterrupted and alone, he assured us that nothing but the sense of duty which he owed to

his religion, could have induced him to risk the disclosure of what few knew, but which all who did, were forbidden to mention, under the severest penalties, perhaps the forfeiture of life itself; he could not, however, with a quiet conscience see Christians entering the very mouth of danger without giving them a warning voice at least, particularly when that very danger arose from the execrable enemies of the faith.

After he had received our pledge of secrecy, therefore, he ventured to explain himself, from which it appeared that Mahommed Ali Pasha, having left Cairo, had reached Jedda, after depositing the new covering upon the Prophet's tomb, in his passage through Medina. In this march he had met with some opposition from the Wahabee Arabs of those parts, among whom the flame of religious zeal had spread so rapidly, that his entrance into Mecca was prevented by the collection of a powerful force; in consequence of which he was obliged to shelter himself on the sea-coast, in order to secure an open retreat, and constant supplies from Egypt. Twelve Arab chiefs, who divided between them the whole of the central parts of Arabia, from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf, had united to repel the invasion of the Turks; and there was an inspired female of their race — a second Joan of Arc, and, like her, a reputed virgin

— to whom the defence of Derrya, one of their strong cities, had been committed, and who, like her illustrious prototype, had already maintained the alleged divinity of her mission by prodigies of valour. In every battle it was said that the troops of the Pasha were defeated and repulsed with great slaughter, and that reinforcements flocked to the green standard of the Wahaabees from far and near. The statements given of the enemy were unquestionably magnified. Messengers who had arrived from thence had represented them as flies and locusts in their numbers, and figuratively said that "the earth was blackened" by their hosts. But Eastern computation can seldom be depended upon; for unaccustomed to the accurate calculation of large numbers, they seldom exceed thousands in their expressions, but substitute the stars of heaven, the blades of grass, or the sands of the Libyan plains. The lowest computation, however, admitted their numbers to be immense, since all the population were in arms, and it was become a personal and a sanguinary, because a religious war; the Arabs stigmatising the Turks as heretics and adulterators of the faith, whose whole pleasure is in the intoxication of their smoke, and who depart from every precept of the Book.

The news of the unfortunate losses and critical

situation of the Pasha had reached the people in office here, and all the resources of their tyrannical government were called into exercise on the occasion. The troops who had gone into Nubia to drive the Mamlouks beyond Dongola were recalled; all Egypt was drained of her petty Kiamacans and village commandants; and even Cairo itself was left defenceless to support this forlorn hope, while every species of vessel, animal, and material, were impressed into the service of the war. Hassan Pasha, the commander of the Albanian troops, the rival and secret enemy of Mahommed Ali, had also received orders to join the army; but his men refusing to leave Cairo, it was expected that he would embrace so favourable an opportunity as this offered of usurping the sovereign power, and dethroning the absent Viceroy; while the Greeks in the pay of the latter had shown strong disposition to mutiny, from several of their troops having been beheaded by Ibrahim Pasha, his son, because they would not embrace the Mahommedan faith previous to their embarkation. At Cosseir five hundred soldiers were waiting conveyance to Jedda, and destitute of almost every species of provision, as well as water. At Kench above a thousand were encamped for the same destination, and these refused to leave the banks of the Nile and the

plenty it afforded them, until boats were ready for their embarkation. The government were in arrears of pay to their troops, the war was unpopular, and the situation of those engaged in it desperate and almost hopeless, so that dissatisfaction and disorder reigned throughout every class of the military, and rendered an association with them dangerous; besides which, the impossibility of finding any conveyance across the Red Sea was certain, and therefore my journey to its shores would be altogether useless.

This information was so disheartening, that before we had quitted our host, I had abandoned the project of my voyage, with the intention of returning at once to Cairo, and really began to prepare for that direction.

We retired to the boat after all this had been completed, and I lay upon my carpet for more than an hour, in a state of great uncertainty and indecision. The idea of returning to Alexandria without accomplishing the principal end for which I had undertaken the voyage thus far (which was to cross the Desert to Cosseir, and from thence examine the shores of the Red Sea), was vexatious in the extreme; and the abandoning a well formed and deliberate expedition without attempting to surmount whatever difficulties might have presented themselves, would very justly

subject me to ridicule. On the other hand, the reports which had been made to me, the facts which I had myself witnessed, and the strong desire that I felt to be again near friends, were almost irresistible temptations to return; all which was increased by fatigue, and the state of my sight, still weak from an ophthalmia which had left me in total blindness for several weeks. But after a painful period of silent counsel and self-communing, the pledge I had made to undertake the journey appearing to me in the light of a duty, determined me to make the attempt at least.

My determination was fixed, and I felt perfectly reconciled to brave all that might befal me, until another difficulty arose; my servant refused to accompany me. In paying the Copt a third visit, and telling him of my resolution, he replied, "The will of God shall be fulfilled, and the camels provided." But as neither threats, entreaties, nor rewards could prevail on my Italian valet, Giovanni, to be the companion of my voyage, I was determined to go alone, rather than be diverted from my purpose. It was a perseverance bordering perhaps upon obstinacy, but I had often found that such a spirit was the only one by which great difficulties could be overcome.

In this dilemma we luckily found an Albanian soldier, who spoke a few words of Italian, and after

an explanatory conversation with him, I agreed to pay the expenses of his journey and ten dollars for the protection which his appearance would be likely to afford me. Still preserving a retreat open in case of my being obliged to return after all my exertions, I retained my boat on the Nile, and leaving the principal part of my baggage in her, proposed sending her to Thebes under my servant's care, to prevent her being seized for the service of the government. After procuring an Albanian dress, I might then depart with my companion in the night, hoping to pass as a soldier until I reached Cosseir, to which place I should take a letter from Raffaelli to a Coptic friend of his, who would secure me in his house until I should find whether any further measures were practicable or not. In the event of my passing thus without danger, and finding a conveyance either to Jedda or Tor in Arabia, the Albanian had consented, for another ten dollars, to be the messenger of my wishes back to Kench, to discharge my boat and bring my servant and baggage across to me under his care, — an arrangement to which all parties had consented.

The hour of our departure was at hand, Giovanni repaired to the boat with the clothes I had stripped off in the tent, and after having been forced to

pledge them in a copious draught (for the Christians of Egypt are all drinkers of rakee or arrack), we parted from our boisterous entertainers, and repaired together to Raffaelli's house. He had not yet retired to bed, so that after receiving his letter, written in Arabic, we were unfortunately drawn in for a parting cup of his favourite beverage again. When we mounted our camels, therefore, if all the dangers in the world had been drawn up in battle array against us, the courage of my companion seemed quite sufficient to meet it, and the spirits that had inspired it a sufficient protection from the midnight air.

The owner of the camels was desirous of accompanying us; but as this would increase our number, without serving any beneficial purpose, and perhaps render us more liable to discovery, he was content to forego the journey, by my paying a deposit of twenty dollars for each animal, being their estimated value; and this was to be returned to me on my delivering them back in safety, and on paying five dollars each for the journey across.

In order to shorten our halts as much as possible, to dispense with cooking, and to court every thing which could tend to privacy, we had provided only some dourra bread and a few dates, a portion of beans for the beasts, and a leathern vessel of

water across each camel for the whole of the journey; neither intending to recruit at the fountains, nor stop at the caravanserai at El Guittah, but to travel through the night, and steal off behind some mountain, to sleep during the day, where we should most probably be unobserved. All our prospects were fair, and our hopes proportionably sanguine, so that we commenced our journey with hearts as light as could be wished.

Dec. 24. Our route from Keneh lay for four or five miles through a cultivated country, until we entered the Desert, upon a hard sandy plain or valley, lying between two ranges of mountains and forming an excellent road, which, even at this hour of midnight, was thronged with asses, camels, and their drivers; some returning empty from Cosseir, and others going thither laden with grain.

We made no stay at this village, but continued our route until sunrise, by which time we had reached about midway between Beerembar and El Guittah, and turning off to the left entered a narrow valley, which we pursued for upwards of a mile, and rounded off at last to the eastward, where we obtained shade and shelter, and were completely hidden from the view of those who might be passing on the great road.

Here we alighted, fed our camels sparingly, took

some refreshment ourselves, and entered into arrangements for our stay until evening. Violent headache, lassitude, and weariness had succeeded to the late hours of the tent: and the evaporation of the temporary courage with which it had inspired my companion, had left a dejection and melancholy of the most gloomy kind. The soldier repented that he had undertaken the task of being my conductor; for, if it should be discovered that he had been the colleague of a Frank in disguise, it might possibly cost him the forfeit of his head to the government; or, if spared from that, the buffettings and abuse of the Mussulman troops; and, I confess, there was something like regret, mixed with alarm, for the consequences of the expedition in my own mind. We were thus far safe, however, and it was idle to tremble in anticipation.

Each of us were disposed to sleep, and both consented that one only should partake of that indulgence while the other watched; for we were not entirely without apprehension from the Bedouins of those parts, who were also dissatisfied with the Pasha, in consequence of his withholding from them the stipulated supplies of corn, by which he had purchased their friendship; and it was said that the numbers on the high road was the only pledge for

the safety of travelling even there. We were thus each deeply interested in observing the strictest vigilance, but myself more particularly, and I therefore undertook to keep the first watch, while the Albanian slept. The few hours passed in this solitude and suspense may certainly be numbered among the most painful of my remembrance. I was here, alone, with an armed stranger, whose habits were calculated to destroy every tie of honour, every bond of confidence, and who, in the secresy of our seclusion from every view, was in complete possession of my person, without either the fear of detection or the probability of punishment.

A number of timid jackals crossed the spot where we lay, but ran from a simple waving of the hand; and we saw no less than six hyænas in different directions, probably attracted to the road by the powerful odour of the dead animals with which it was strewed. I remember to have seen, when a child, two of these animals in a travelling menagerie, which were called untameable, and taught by their keepers the wildest and most ferocious attitudes; so that although I had heard of their flying from those who face them, and of their being content with preying on defenceless herds and flocks, I could not divest myself of the terror which early impressions had in-

spired, when one of them approached us within a few yards, and so close to our camels that these sprung from their knees affrighted, and broke the grass halter by which they were fastened to the rock. I awoke my companion; he was about to fire without reflecting on the alarm which the report of arms would occasion if heard, and I was fortunately in time to stay his purpose; but on chasing the animal with sabres, he fled from us precipitately and relieved us from our fears. The figure and general appearance of those creatures is certainly calculated to inspire dread, from the wildness of their stare, and the ferocity of their whole look. This was of a greyish colour, intermixed with dark streaks and spots, a small wolfish head, shaggy hair, and about the size of the largest Egyptian dogs that I had seen.

It was now past noon, and I lay down to rest in my turn; but I found it difficult to sleep, for caution was my only hope; it was technically, and truly too, my sheet-anchor for the gale. During the first hour, therefore, I lay with closed eyes, and partially awake; fatigue prevented my being completely so, until I sunk into a sleep as sound as the greatest safety could inspire, or the weariest could have wished for.

What was my surprise, however, what my indig-

nation too, on awaking, to find my companion drunk and senseless on the ground, and the camels with all our provisions gone, the cord of his sabre cut, and the sword carried away, mine half drawn from the scabbard, his pistols taken from his belt, and both our muskets disappeared. We had, in short, been pillaged by some cautious thieves, who found us both asleep. I endeavoured to rouse him by all possible means; it was in vain, and to render the affair still worse, in shaking him on the ground, the bottle of spirits which he had emptied, and which I recognised to be one from the boat, probably given him by my servant, broke into pieces under him, and cut his side severely. Here, then, I was obliged to wait until this unhappy subject recovered strength enough to stand on his legs, and it was then a long while before I could obtain from him anything like an intelligible answer. He was like one awoke from a dream of death; he knew nothing of all that had transpired, and seemed to think our punishment a warning from our patron saints to return. I dared not tell him I had no confidence in his calendar; for then he would most certainly have deserted me, and I could not give up my determination to proceed. We, therefore, left this place at sunset, and by assisting to steady his pace

and prevent him from falling, we struck off on foot into the high road.

The sky was yet warm with the last glow of day, the moon was young and rising, and closely followed by the evening star, while the belt of Orion had just begun to be visible in the East; but all this beauty of the evening beamed no comfort on our unhappy destitution. On contrasting my present condition with that of those by whom I knew I was dearly remembered at home, and in whose society I had passed the last Christmas-eve, of which this was the anniversary, my spirits almost sunk beneath the pressure of the moment, and no language can faithfully describe the conflicting passions that possessed me. Despair, however, is always an enemy, and most so when surrounded by dangers; as far, therefore, as it was possible, I endeavoured to conquer its suggestions, and steel my bosom against sensibility.

When we reached the road, we found it as thronged as before, and procuring two asses, returning light to Keneh, we mounted them, and rode on to the wells of El Guittah. Here we slaked our own thirst, and watered our animals, but without making any stay, as there was a mosque and caravanserai at the place, in which some Turks were sleeping, and which we were therefore careful not to visit. A few dates oc-

casionally demanded from Arab camel drivers, who have generally a small supply wrapped either in their shirt or girdle, furnished us with sufficient food; so that neither hunger nor thirst had yet occasioned us any material inconvenience.

Dec. 25. At length the morning advanced, and with it our fears increased. We debated with great earnestness upon the measures to be taken for the day, when, after all I could urge, my companion positively refused to spend another among the retirement of the mountains; so that we necessarily continued our route upon the high road.

When the day became warm, between sunrise and noon, our animals began to droop; we knew not how long they had travelled before we had mounted them, and were therefore apprehensive that they would fail us altogether, an anticipation that was soon verified; for about two o'clock both of them were on the ground without the hope of being raised again. Waiting the coming up of a loaded drove, we prevailed on the driver to exchange our beasts for two of his own, by a payment of three dollars for each, being about half their value; but desiring him, at the same time, to enjoy his good fortune in secresy, since by leaving the two disengaged corn-sacks on the road, and a boy to watch the animals, they would soon be sufficiently

recovered to overtake him at the next halt again. Thus far all was well; fortune had hitherto found a remedy for every dilemma, and it inspired a hope that these combinations would follow us throughout.

The sun was closing fast with the western line of hills: we had travelled nearly twenty hours without resting, having had neither food nor water since leaving El Guittah, and as may well be imagined, weary with fatigue, and harassed by continual apprehension, yet still congratulating ourselves on the propitious destiny that had attended us hitherto without discovery. When near the wells of Moilah, where the valley closes, and the path grows more rocky and intricate, we met an Albanian officer on horseback, with about twenty soldiers, returning in a state of mutiny from Cosseir. Unfortunately there was no avoiding them, and to turn back would have been betraying our fears; we therefore braved the meeting, and rode on, but not without being stopped. My Albanian companion preceded me, and a conversation ensued between him and the soldiers, which I did not understand, but I could distinguish from a few expressions, as they spoke in Turkish, that he represented himself to be on a journey to Cosseir from his commander, and that he disavowed all knowledge of me whatever! I still proceeded on, but was

soon laid hold of. They demanded of me, in Arabic, where I was going? I answered, to Cosseir; and since it was now vain to dissemble, I produced the firman of Mohammed Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, which I had brought with me to provide against any molestation. My treacherous companion still continued on his route with quickened pace, and during my detention for examination, he got completely out of sight. The officer did not apparently understand the purport of the firman, from his handing it about among the soldiers to examine; but on his seeing the Pasha's signet, which he was better able to recognise, he spit on it, tore the firman into fragments, and scattered them on the ground. I trembled with apprehension, and certainly expected to undergo the fate of the dissevered document; but this enraged chief was satisfied with taking from me my sabre, which pleased him, and giving his own, an inferior one, to one of his followers. This was a signal for the rest,—an example they did not hesitate to follow; one seized my pistols, and a quarrel ensued amongst them about their possession; another took my jacket, a third my turban, and so on, until I was left by them entirely naked on the plain, without a dollar in money, and only the letter of Raffaelli to his friend, which I had tied round my right arm in a small black silk bag as

a talisman, a treasure which even robbers in the East respect, as they are written only for the wearer, and lose their virtue when transferred to another. In this sacred enclosure I had placed two Venetian sequins, a hint I had borrowed from my friend Sheikh Ibrahim (Mr. Burckhardt) at Esné, and on these my only hope remained. I regretted more than all, as it could not be replaced in this country, the loss of a small pocket sextant in a brass case, with extracts of all the necessary tables, an artificial horizon, &c., admirably adapted both for land and sea voyages, and which the chief of these banditti had taken to himself, under the persuasion of its being a magician's instrument, formed of a metal favourable for the transmutation of all others into gold.

Night advanced to favour me, and for the first time within my remembrance the presence of the moon was at enmity with my wishes. I wished to be hidden from my own sight, if possible, and I felt in its full force the scriptural expression of the sun smiting by day and the cold by night. It was no time, however, to give way to despondency; so that, as soon as my plunderers were out of sight and hearing, I rose and proceeded, trembling at every approaching step, till at length I met and accosted a Bedouin Arab, who was passing with his burdened camels,

and was answered surlily. The poor fellow was in an ill humour at his destiny, and it might well have soured his temper. I made him understand, however, that I was a Frank, and an Englishman, and confirmed it by showing him that my arms and body were whiter than those he was accustomed to see; and this was the only proof I now possessed of my being a stranger, since my head even had been shaved, according to the custom of the country, and my moustaches were long and bushy enough for a sultan. After some conversation, he said he recollected to have seen me at Keneh on the morning before I left it, but the metamorphose of dress was too great to enable him to recognise me again. I made him feel the sequins in my talisman, however, and his doubts were soon removed.

To return to Keneh in the despoiled plight in which I now stood, naked as I was born, would be seeking certain detection and all its unknown consequences. Being, therefore, determined to pursue my route, I prevailed on the Arab to give me his outer brown shirt of goats' hair, rough and rugged, and placing it over my body, for which no covering had been left me, I concealed my head and face from observation beneath the blue cotton cloth which these men throw across their shoulders. I was, however, completely

barefoot, and the want of shoes pressed harder upon me than any other privation, as the small stones of the road were broken flints. With a large staff to support my steps, furnished by my new conductor, to complete the costume of my new condition, I followed the asses, as a driver, in pain and apprehension.

Dec. 26. The soles of my feet were so incessantly pierced by the sharp fragments of flint that strewed the road, to which the hardened skins of the Arabs are invulnerable, and the incisions became so filled with dirt and sand, that before morning I had halted twice in despair, and gave myself up as incapable of finishing what I had undertaken. I possessed no more money to buy an ass, without leaving myself entirely destitute, and neither arms nor a military dress to enforce the use of one. When we halted, therefore, toward morning, amid a wild and rocky country, in which detached masses of granite were mingled with the calcareous mountains, I rolled myself in the goats' hair shirt, drawing my feet up from sight, and was happy to find a momentary refuge from despair, in that repose which is so sweet to the weary.

But this delightful state of forgetfulness, this tranquil interval of oblivious insensibility, which Nature grants to the most unhappy, was of short duration.

The sun had hardly risen before we were again stirring, and after sharing the Arab's pipe of hospitality, dividing with him about half a dozen dates, and eating some raw corn from the sacks of his cargo, we were again about to proceed; but my feet were now infinitely more tender and swollen than when I lay down, and when I placed them on the ground I found it impossible to sustain the weight of my body. The hope of reward, perhaps, but certainly a mixture of compassion too, induced the Arab to risk even punishment to befriend me. I lay down again, as if asleep, dreading every sound, and fearing to be accosted without being able to answer, when in half an hour he returned with an unburdened beast and an empty sack, giving me to understand that he had discharged the corn in secret, and, hiding the sack also in another quarter to prevent detection, he lifted me on the animal, and we both set out together. It was possible, he told me, that we might reach Cosseir to-night, but it would be late, as it was yet twelve hours' journey, and the cattle must make another halt at Beder, which we should reach before sunset. I conjured him, by all I could express, and by the promise of remuneration, to enter it, if possible, in the dark, that we might be unobserved. He promised compliance, and we journeyed on with less fatigue, it

is true, but scarcely less pain than before. From the raw corn that I had eaten to excess, in the intensity of my hunger, I suffered great distension of the stomach, with excruciating pain, and an apprehension of actual bursting; while I rode on a sharp-backed and unsaddled beast, with only a rough brown hair shirt on, and not even a pair of drawers to lessen the poignancy of friction, so that I could only relieve myself from this double inconvenience by perpetual change of position.

Of the Canal which has been spoken of as once existing between Keneh and Cosseir, I did not perceive the slightest trace through the whole of our journey: nor would such a work be easily practicable, from the nature of the country; at least it would be inevitably attended with a labour and expense that its commercial advantages would scarcely ever repay. At half an hour after sunset we reached the wells at Beder, where I assisted to unload the burdens of the asses, the camels taking a short repose on their knees without being lightened. Here, also, after drinking of the water, which, bitter and brackish as it is, was sweet to the thirsty, we laid ourselves down to take an hour's sleep.

From hence we set out again, after loading the sacks upon our little caravan, and, without even being

accosted on the road, arrived in good health and safety at Cosseir, about four hours after the setting of the moon, which must have been past-midnight.

Dec. 27. We had some difficulty in finding the house of Signor Paulo (for such was the name of the Copt's friend), and still greater in obtaining an entrance into it at this hour of the night. He spoke only Arabic, and to all his questions I could only answer that I was a Frank and an Englishman, that I came from Keneh, and had brought from thence a letter to him from his friend Raffaelli. He conversed with us from out of the window, as every person in the house was asleep on our arrival; but after seeing my wretched appearance, and hearing the story of the camel driver who had been my conductor, added to the imperfect account which I could give him of myself, he let down a string, to which I attached the Arabic letter concealed in my talisman, after which he descended to let us in, though it was still with a great deal of justifiable caution and reserve.

On reading the letter, which was merely four lines, written in Arabic, and stamped with the ring or signet of the writer, he appeared satisfied. I had water given me to wash, a green oil for my feet and posteriors, as both were in a similar condition, and returning the Arab his goats' hair shirt, with that

of the Albanian into the bargain, I gave him the sequins of my talisman for his pains. The poor fellow, unaccustomed to the possession of gold, was extravagant in his expressions of gratitude, began kissing my hands and feet, and imploring Allah to preserve me for a thousand years; yet all this did not prevent me from feeling that I was still his debtor, and from regretting that my means of rewarding him were so limited. He left us highly satisfied, however, since he saw that I had given him all I possessed, and he promised to preserve inviolably the secresy I had exacted of him; after which, being wrapped in a clean shirt and warm cloak, given me by my host, I lay down on a straw mat, as they use no other beds here, and was lulled to sleep by the murmur of the breaking sea.

Being suffered to enjoy the indulgence I so much needed, it was late before I arose, when I found a pipe, tobacco, purse, fire apparatus, &c., by my side, with a Coptic dress and blue linen turban of Signor Paulo's, ready for me to put on. It is in moments like these, when feeling our dependence on the assistance of our fellow beings, that we appreciate the true worth of charity, and that we best understand the force and beauty of that sublime injunction, "Do ye unto others as ye would they should do unto you." It

is in such moments, in short, that one receives the clearest and most explanatory comment on all the admirable precepts of mutual assistance, and the reciprocal duties of help and protection. For myself, I can refer to no one period of my recollection in which I so much needed the inspiration of Pentecost and the gift of tongues, as at this moment, when I saw myself surrounded with all the comforts I needed, supplied, too, by the hands of a perfect stranger.

I might have travelled, perhaps, from one extreme of Europe to the other, without finding myself so much embarrassed for expression, without regretting so sincerely that dispersion of mankind which had placed such repulsive barriers between nations and individuals as dissimilarity of language.

It was past noon when my kind entertainer returned from his office of business, and it was not until then that I explained to him my wish to find a conveyance to Jedda, Tor, or Suez; for in the pain and fatigue which I suffered on my arrival, this most material communication had escaped me. In reply he shook his head, and told me it was quite impossible. Every boat, even of the smallest size, arriving here from the northern ports, was immediately seized for the use of the government; those bound to Jedda were laden as deeply as they could possibly bear,

leaving scarcely room for the troops to lay themselves along upon their cargoes; so that if I continued to remain here for a month longer, there would be no prospect of my finding a passage. This was the death-blow to my hopes, for I had even until now continued to indulge them; but seeing that my intended voyage was perfectly impracticable, I relinquished all further attempt to pursue it.

My friend added, that my return to Keneh could not be too expeditious, since every resident here trembled at the apprehension of rebellion; that the wells upon the road were nearly drained, while there were no boats to procure supplies from Arabia, in consequence of which, water of the worst kind sold at a dollar per jar, or nearly a shilling per quart! and scarcely any other provisions than bread could be procured for money. Every arrival, he said, brought news of fresh disasters in the Hedjaz, while from there not being boats enough to convey the soldiers, they were dissatisfied with their present privations, and many had gone back to enjoy the plenty they were certain of finding on the banks of the Nile, among which were the very party by whom I was stripped in the Desert.

To all this he added that several boats had sunk at sea, from their being too deeply laden, and their

crew, with the troops on board, were consequently drowned; the news of which had very naturally determined such of the expedition as found themselves in safety on land, not to embark upon another element without a better assurance of safety in their passage across it.

My desire to part from a scene of so much danger and so little attraction, was equal to the anxiety which I had originally felt to visit it, and I should have repented of the obstinacy which induced me to persist in the task, in defiance of all warning and entreaty, had I not some pleasure in the consolation of having seen the port, and of being personally convinced, beyond the possibility of deception, that the obstacles opposed to my wishes had not been magnified. Our next consideration, therefore, was as to the mode of retreat. I was now perfectly destitute, without a shirt, or a piastre, that I could call my own, and deeply as I was already indebted to the kindness of my hospitable host, whatever step I took must make me still more his debtor. My wants were, however, anticipated before they could be expressed.

He asked me if my suffering state would allow me to depart to-night; and trembling as I was with apprehension of the pains in reserve for me, I consented; when he promised to provide me asses and a guide,

advising us still to travel by night, and desiring me to retain the dress I now wore, which I could either return by my companion, or leave at Keneh.

I accordingly set out on my return; and after a painful and weary journey of three days and nights regained once more the verdant banks of the Nile; and while taking the first draught of its delicious stream, after the bitter and brackish water of the Desert, I could fully realise the feeling which is said to haunt all Egyptians when absent from their home, namely, an intense longing to drink once more the water of the Nile, which has few equals, and no superior perhaps in the world.

CHAP. XIII.

Descent of the Nile from Keneh to Cairo.—Commission to survey the Isthmus of Suez, and ascertain the practicability of a Canal across it.—Leave Cairo in the costume and character of a Bedouin Arab.—Companions of my journey, and route pursued.—Rude hospitality of the inhabitants of the Desert.—Aversion of both men and camels to enclosed buildings.—Halt at the castle of Adjerood for the night.—Arab opinions of regular government and civilised life.—Arrive at Suez, and favourable reception by the Governor.—Description of the town, and nautical survey of the harbour.—Entry of the great caravan of 4,000 camels from Cairo.—Variety of races, complexions, characters, and costumes.—Predicted dangers of our future Desert journey.—Moore's Vision of Philosophy.—Sage of the Red Sea.

Our descent of the Nile from Keneh to Cairo was rapid, and without interruption; and I rejoiced to find myself once more in the agreeable quarters and delightful society of the British Residency, with Colonel Missett and his suite, by whom I was most cordially received. The contrast between my sufferings and privations in the Desert, and the luxurious enjoyment of this Sybaritic life, was as great as could possibly be imagined; though this, too, like all other pleasures, was soon to have an end.

During my absence in Upper Egypt, intelligence had been received from Mohammed Ali in Arabia, in reply to my propositions submitted to him through Boghos Yuseff, and his answers were these. With respect to the transport of the American brigs across the Desert from the Nile to Suez, this was rendered unnecessary, as he had been able to purchase some vessels of war at Mocha and Jedda in the Red Sea, belonging to the Arab governments of these two ports. Regarding the survey of the Isthmus of Suez, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of opening a Canal between the Mediterranean or the Nile and the Red Sea, he approved most heartily of the design; and commissioned Boghos Yuseff to provide me with all the necessary means for effecting this without delay.

In deliberating with those most competent to give advice on such a subject, it appeared that all experience showed, there were but two modes of journeying safely in the Desert; one was, to be attended with a large escort, with tents, guards, horses, and servants, which would be very costly, and provoke attack and opposition, with perhaps plunder and murder, if resistance were ineffectual; the other was to go as the poorer class of Arabs themselves do, with one or two camels only; and such an absence of all

superfluities in dress, provisions, and baggage, as to satisfy all we met that we were too poor to be worth the trouble of pillaging, and too insignificant to be worth a ransom. I had been told this before by Mr. Burckhardt, who adopted the latter mode, and found it always the safest; and his opinion being confirmed by the judgment of others, I resolved on adopting this advice. As this second Desert Journey was full of novelty and interest, and belongs strictly to what may be called the Personal Narrative of my life, I transcribe such portions of the record of it from my Journal kept at the time, as will preserve the connection between the parts, and make the whole intelligible.

Feb. 15. I had slept but little, from the diversity of thoughts by which I was agitated during the night; and stirring with the earliest dawn we were dressed and equipped before sunrise. After receiving a letter of credit on Damietta, in case of our visiting that place, as well as the firman of the Pasha, to be shown only in case of need, we repaired to the okella, or stables, where our camels and their driver lodged. This individual, whose name was Phanoose (literally a lantern, or a light for the path), was a Bedouin Arab, from the mountains near Horeb and Sinai; he had been long known among the merchants of Egypt

for his tried fidelity, and was constantly entrusted by them to be the bearer of large sums in gold and silver between Sinai, Tor, Suez, and Cairo. He was thus charged for a journey at present, and to his care and protection I entirely committed myself. The great caravan of four thousand camels had departed from Cairo for Suez on the preceding evening; and coinciding with him in his opinion, that it was best to avoid their track, and journey by the upper and least frequented road, to the northward of their course, we left Cairo by the Bab-el-Nasr, or Gate of Victory, for that route, about 9 o'clock.

Our dresses were those of the Arab fellahs, or Egyptian peasants, consisting of a simple shirt of blue cotton, over one of coarse calico next the skin, a coarse muslin turban for the head, and a woollen sash for the waist, with red slippers, and a blue cotton melyah, a kind of shawl thrown loosely across the shoulders in the day, and serving for a slight covering at night. We had each long full beards, and wore sandals on our feet. Our provisions consisted of a small supply of bread, rice, butter, dates, a few hard boiled eggs and salt, some coffee, tobacco, and a goat's skin of water; our cooking utensils comprised only an iron kettle for boiling rice, and a small coffee pot, with two coffee cups. Our arms were a sabre, musket,

and pistols each, all of the most ordinary quality, to prevent their exciting envy or a desire in others to possess them; and these, with a straw mat for sleeping on, and a Bedouin cloak, or burnoose, for a night covering, with the indispensable requisites of a pipe and tobacco bag, completed our simple travelling equipage.

Taking a course almost due east from the gate we had left, we passed on through a narrow defile or valley, formed by the near approach of two small yet steep hills projecting against each other like bluff capes in miniature, leaving the "Birket el Hadji," or the Lake of the Pilgrims, the general point of rendezvous for caravans to the north of us. The pace of our camels appeared to be light and easy; and as they bore only the few small sacks of money confided to the care of the Bedouin, beside our own baggage, their rate of progress was never less than a league in the hour. The weather was favourable for our journey; and Phanoose occasionally broke the silence of the Desert by the songs with which he cheered his camels, so that I felt my spirits growing lighter with every step we took.

We halted for an hour about noon, and made a hearty, though a hasty meal, when, overtaking a small caravan of Arabs bound to Tor, we joined their

humble camp, for mutual protection, about two hours before sunset. Our salutations at meeting were rather like those of long absent friends than those of perfect strangers, and their rude hospitality had in it a sincerity which enhanced its worth. The camels were unladen, and suffered to feed upon the few dry herbs that were scattered among the sands, which, in addition to their want of moisture, had the bitterest taste that could be endured. The sacks of grain which formed the lading of those bound to Tor were ranged on each side of us, as a shelter from the wind; our arms were mustered and examined, and we felt ourselves in a state of security.

As it grew dark, the camels were collected together, and kneeling on the sand near us, their forelegs were lashed in their bent position, which, rendering them unable to rise, was the only precaution necessary for their safety. A small quantity of gunpowder, bruised in oil, was given to them in form of a bolus, and a bag of beans tied to their mouths for their evening meal. Hassan and Suliman were returned with fuel for the night; and Abdallah having, in the short space of half an hour, ground sufficient wheat for the party, mixed it, chaff and all, in the water of their own skin, baked cakes of it on the fire of dung, and made them, while warm, again into a paste, by

breaking them in pieces and kneading them in a wooden bowl with oil and honey. Each of the party washed his hands in the sand before commencing his meal, as water is too precious in the desert to be so used; and all dipping their fingers in the same dish, regaled themselves as at a feast of delicacies.

I could not refuse to join them, but it was a painful tribute to their hospitality; and, keen as my appetite had been at alighting, it was more than satisfied by witnessing the preparation of our food, so that I was compelled at last to plead fatigue, and afterwards to sup unseen from my own stock; feeling, in this instance, the truth of Solomon's expression, that "stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant." We remained awake, and were engaged in rude yet interesting festivity, until midnight, having a large fire, and one of the party always on the watch, so that we rolled ourselves in our cloaks, and sunk to rest without apprehensions of evil.

Feb. 16. The shades of night had scarcely given place to the earliest gleams of morning before we were again stirring. Coffee and the hasty cakes of yesterday were served with equal expedition, and an hour before sunrise our little caravan was on the march. The appearance of the country was every-

where the same; dull, sandy plains, unbroken and without variety; a wide horizon almost like a sea, and the elevation or depression of the road seldom exceeding an angle of three degrees. In some few parts, where the sand appeared more loose and deep, were tufts of bitter herbs, and a sort of dry heath, on which the camels fed as they passed along; but by far the greater part of the track was a firm, gravelly soil, covered with white and yellow pebbles of common flint, forming an excellent road, either for wheel carriages, cavalry, or infantry, and even for laden waggons, if necessary.

In the course of the afternoon we met several small caravans, on their way from Suez to Cairo, laden with charcoal from Sinai and Tor; and saw also straggling parties of Bedouins on foot, their arms and clothing as wretched as the imagination could possibly paint them, one in each party carrying the water-skin slung across his shoulders, and every one else apparently bearing his own provisions.

After having passed a small building and a single tree considerably on our left, lying nearly in the centre road, and continuing our route easterly across the same tiresome and unvarying scenery, we halted about four o'clock in a sort of loose sand, it having been pitched on for the convenience of our camels

rather than ourselves, as it afforded a few shrubs for them to feed on, and soft ground for their knees.

The same duties as those of the preceding evening were again gone through; the dish of meal, oil, and honey, was again served up; but as I felt no more reconciled to it than before, I joined in appearance only, supping on the boiled rice which I had separately prepared for my own use.

Feb. 17. Our route to-day lay through a more broken country, but neither hilly nor rocky; the ascents and descents were in general more sudden, but there was still a tiresome want of variety; nor had the country yet changed its character of an irregular sandy plain. About noon the high mountains of Adaga interposed their blue bulk in the south-east, and were interesting from mere contrast; dead camels were seen occasionally upon the sands, and the bleached skeletons of those whose bones had long been bared by the sun and wind were visible at a distance of many miles, on the edge of the horizon.

It was not before the usual hour of the evening halt that we gained sight of the castle of Adjerood, a caravanserai, a short march from Suez, and it was then some miles distant. I had already suffered so much in my eyes, which were by no means recovered from the effects of the ophthalmia when we left Cairo,

and the back part of my neck was also so blistered by exposure to the sun, that I was anxious to reach some shelter for the night, especially as the wind had risen very high, and annoyed us by the clouds of sand with which it filled the air. I therefore desired that we might continue our march until we gained the caravanserai, where we might regale at leisure, and sleep in comfort and security. Neither of the Arabs urged the slightest objection to the prolongation of our march; but all refused to enter the walls of Adjerood, and preferred to sleep unsheltered in the open air. This contempt of enclosed dwellings had been deeply rooted in their minds by early impressions, and was confirmed by habit, and to this they added another reason—"Are you not now with friends and honest men," said they, "with whom you may trust your gold uncounted? and will you enter among thieves and robbers, where one eye must be waking while the other sleeps?" It was impossible to change their opinion of men in civilised life, whom they characterised as treacherous and deceitful, from the Sultan to the Fellah, or to persuade them of there being many bright exceptions to the general wickedness of mankind. "Mahommed Ali Pasha," said they, "is he not a robber of the highest class, living on the plunder of the people (for so they con-

sider taxes of every description), and obliging them to be dishonest, that they may be able to answer his never-ceasing demands? And has he not carried the war into Arabia, rather to gain the riches of the Wahabees than to change their religion?"

It was only in consideration, therefore, of my eyes suffering from exposure to the night air, that my request was granted, and our conference on this subject continued until we reached the walls themselves. It was by that time past sunset, and as the evening was cloudy, it had grown extremely dark, the gates of the castle were shut, and not a voice was to be heard from within. Phanoose, however, by loud knocking, brought a porter to the wicket, whom, instead of entreating for our admission as a favour, he loaded with many reproaches for closing his gate against the weary stranger. "What is your castle built for?" said he, "to maintain a lazy governor and his train?—or did not Sultan Selim, and the holy Sheick, both found a caravanserai, which you have converted into a fort?" The man replied as loudly and with equal warmth, until the dispute grew so serious, that I was afraid at last shelter would be absolutely refused us. Phanoose entered, however, by force, unbarred the large gate, and with great difficulty drew his camels after him,

the animals seeming to be as averse to enter enclosed buildings as their master.

Phanoose, the Bedouin Arab, refused, however, to remain in the castle himself among "thieves and tyrants," as he invariably called the Turks who occupied it; and though he left our camels within the walls, he took his sacks of money with him, and joined the camp of his companions on the outside, in the open plain, for greater safety!

Feb. 18. We were roused before sunrise, and taking our breakfast on the sands, without the walls, loaded our little caravan and departed, taking leave of the venerable old Moosa Abdallah, and the Bedouin boys, who continued their route easterly, to pass round the arm of the Red Sea above Suez, while we branched off more southerly towards the town.

We reached Suez about ten o'clock, and alighted at the okella of the Greeks, but finding there neither accommodation for ourselves nor camels, we waited immediately on Hassan Aga, the governor, to whom I presented my letter from the Kiah Bey, the Pasha's representative at Cairo. My reception was extremely favourable, and I was offered a seat beside him on the same sofa; an explanation as to the motive of my disguise having removed the prejudicial impression created by the appearance of my Bedouin dress.

After an hour's conversation on the affairs of Europe, the state of the war in Arabia, and other topics of mutual inquiry, an officer was directed to show me a room in an adjoining house, where I took up my quarters for a short stay, and had reason to be pleased with its situation, as it received the cool breezes of the north-east, and overlooked the small harbour for boats, abreast of the town. It was soon furnished with our own mat and cooking utensils, neither chairs nor tables being known here; and the luxuries of undressing and enjoying a clean change of linen were of the highest kind.

After dining on a rice pilau at noon, I passed three or four hours agreeably in rambling through the town; and the evening was spent with the governor, whose divan was filled with visitors of all classes, soldiers, merchants, traders from Yemen, and Arabs from all parts of the surrounding country. Even Phanoose paid his respects to the governor in person, filled his pipe, and was served with coffee by the men in waiting; but he persisted in his motive being rather to take care of me, than to gratify himself. Upon the whole, indeed, I had much reason to be pleased with my reception and entertainment by the governor, Hassan Aga, who was more polite and intelligent

than the generality of Turks in corresponding situations.

Feb. 19. As a station for transporting the merchandise of the Red Sea to Cairo, and shipping off supplies of grain from Egypt to Arabia, considering the limited extent of the trade at the present moment, Suez answers the purpose most effectually; but as a *town*, scarcely any assemblage of houses, to which that name is given, can be imagined less deserving it. Situated on a point of land, faced by shallows towards the sea, and having a wide desert behind it, not a tree, a bush, or a blade of verdure, is anywhere to be seen. It has been recently enclosed with miserable walls, formed of stones loosely piled together, without cement, and having a range of loopholes for musketry; though one need only be within ten paces of them, to be convinced that they would fall before the first discharge of half a dozen field pieces. This wall surrounds it on three sides, leaving it open towards the north-east, where are the wharves for loading, and the scala for the boat harbour. The whole circuit of the town is, however, less than two British miles, its greatest length being north-west and south-east, and its shape irregular.

Feb. 20. Hassan Aga, the governor, had engaged to take me over the harbour, and on board the vessels

in port, in his own boat, this morning; but intelligence reaching him of the arrival of the grand caravan from Cairo, which had set out the day before we left that city, he was prevented from accompanying me, and politely begged my acceptance of his boat and eight men for the day. We left the wharf at an early hour, and taking with me the Greek captain and our attendant of yesterday, we steered out into the deep channel, the banks being dry at low water, and the wind from the southward. We first visited a ship of four hundred tons, and a brig of about three hundred, the former ready to depart for Jedda, laden with grain, brought across the Desert from Egypt; the latter recently arrived from thence in ballast. Both of these were vessels belonging to the Pasha; they were nearly new, and had been built in the yard at Suez, all the materials of wood, iron, hemp, &c., being transported over the isthmus on the backs of camels; nor were they either in their construction or equipment inferior to the ships of the Adriatic. Each of them was armed with fourteen guns, manned with a very motley crew of fifty men, and commanded by Greeks of the Archipelago, under Turkish flags.

After obtaining from their commanders all the local information they could afford me, relative to

the prevailing winds, weather, and navigation of the Red Sea, we procured from them a hand lead and line, and, with the chart and compass I possessed, we proceeded to survey the harbour, and take the soundings and bearings of the best anchorage berths. It was a long and tedious duty, with so bad a boat's crew; but as the weather was extremely favourable, I succeeded in executing it much to my own satisfaction; and had the whole of the best anchorages marked with their accurate bearings, and their depth in fathoms upon the chart.

As a port Suez is infinitely superior to Cosseir, farther down the Red Sea; the difficulty of access to it from the southward, on account of the prevailing northerly winds, may be considered as its greatest, if not its only, disadvantage. When the port is gained, however, the shelter from those winds under the high land of Mount Adaga is secure; the depth of water, from two and a half to ten fathoms, is convenient; and the holding ground, being firm sand, is good. The prevalence of fine weather will generally allow good anchorage to be deliberately chosen; and, for the same reason, berths may be shifted at pleasure. The tides, having not more than five or six feet rise and fall, are not violent in their rate of ebb and flow, and are but little influenced by

winds. The time of high water, at full and change, is about twelve o'clock at noon, the new moon of to-day affording me an opportunity of actual observation; and, from the testimonies of others, those tides are extremely regular in their courses and returns.

Vessels lightened of their cargoes, and laden boats, pass from the outer harbour to the town, through the deep channel, at all times of tide; and for small boats there is water through the shallow channel at about a quarter flood. Cargoes may be therefore shipped and landed in the large barks of the country with perfect safety; the distance of the anchorage to the wharves, being at least three miles, would render the use of ships' boats unnecessary, unless to tow against the wind or tide.

The want of docks at Suez, the necessity of having every material either for building or repairs brought by the caravans from Egypt, the difficulty of heaving a vessel down, from the existence of a tide, and of leaving her dry on the beach, from the insufficiency of its rise and fall, are all serious obstacles to the making it a naval arsenal, or to the giving ships even a temporary refit in its harbour. Vessels trading from India hence should therefore be invariably coppered, and so complete in their equipments as to have on board everything necessary for their own repairs;

the simple articles of a needle or a skein of twine to repair a bread bag, a bung for a water cask, or a broom to sweep the decks with, being as difficult to be found here as a mast, an anchor, or a cable.

Feb. 21. The entry into Suez of the grand caravan, which had commenced early on the morning of yesterday, and promised not to finish in less than two days more, had already filled the town with bustle and variety. The arrival of two vessels from Jedda, and one from Yambo, had also increased the number of strangers, and by this mixture of visitors from Arabia and Egypt, we had every shade of colour in countenance and costume.

My own Arab dress enabling me to mix in the crowd without fear of being detected as a Christian, or of even attracting notice at all, I was agreeably occupied throughout the day in that sort of strolling observation which makes even lounging both delightful and instructive. The number of camels composing this caravan exceeded four thousand, with at least half that number of Bedouin guides. There was also an escort of Turkish cavalry, and a company of infantry, besides a number of traders, agents, &c., accompanying their own property, forming with the arrivals by sea an additional population of five or six thousand strangers. The goods brought by this cara-

van were chiefly grain for Arabia, Egyptian cotton, manufactured for sail cloth, timber, planks, and oars for boats, of which several were ordered to be built for the Pasha, and a few articles of private speculation for the southern markets, such as gay-coloured cloths, articles of dress, and common fire-arms.

Feb. 22. I had fixed our departure on my Desert Journey, in search of the remains of the ancient Canal, for this morning, but, as is usual on most occasions of setting out, whether by land or water, new difficulties arose, and obstacles were now for the first time supposed to exist. The route I had marked out for our line of investigation was to follow the track of the ancient Canal, by the salt marshes to the northward of Suez, pass by the spot marked in Arrowsmith's chart as the ruins of Serapeum and Aboukechied, and entering the cultivated plain of Egypt at the ancient Thaubastus, turn by Hieropolis to Balbeis. Every one whom we consulted on the subject declared this journey to be impracticable, without great personal risk. This part of the Desert, it was said, was traversed by the Syrian Bedouins, who are enemies to those of Tor, and our being robbed and stripped was a matter of certainty in the opinion of Phanoose; but, as he observed, "Allah! Kereem! God is merciful." The governor very kindly offered

me an escort of his own soldiers, but I was too well aware of its expense to accept it; and as my desire of accomplishing the journey was unconquerable, we prepared to depart alone, hoping to find security in the smallness of our party, and in the appearance of poverty we should assume. Our guide at length refused to depart without an additional sum of fifty piastres for the journey, a demand which I strenuously resisted, and as both parties were obstinate, it bade fair to detain us for the day.

Noon came without a change of determination on either side, and I passed the latter part of the day most agreeably in a walk along the southern beach of the town of Suez, from whence the marine scenery is grand and interesting. On the right, the high and rocky summits of Adaga are boldly picturesque, and the plain leading to Tor and Sinai, which is terminated by a broken range of Asiatic mountains on the left, with the unintercepted horizon of the sea in the southern offing, form altogether a subject worthy the pencil of a Claude. The air was beautifully calm, and the serenity of that unbroken silence which everywhere reigned around, was like a momentary slumber of animated nature. I was perfectly alone; and nothing could have been more favourable than the present moment, either as it regarded the state

of things, or of my own disposition to receive it, for an interview with that hoary sage from whom Cleombrotus learned the doctrine of a plurality of worlds; but I was not so highly favoured, though I remembered here, with all that superior pleasure which local interest can add even to the most beautiful productions, the poetic and ingenious fragment of Moore's, which he calls "A Vision of Philosophy," the subject or hero of which he thus describes: —

"In Plutarch's Essay on the Decline of Oracles, Cleombrotus, one of the interlocutors, describes an extraordinary man whom he had met with, after long research, upon the banks of the Red Sea. Once in every year this supernatural personage appeared to mortals, and conversed with them; the rest of his time he passed among the genii and the nymphs. He spoke in a tone not far removed from singing; and whenever he opened his lips a fragrance filled the place." What beauties, however, did those lines derive from contrast, when I remembered them on those barren sands:

"'Twas on the Red Sea coast, at eve, we met
The venerable man; a virgin bloom
Of softness mingled with the vigorous thought
That towered upon his brow; as when we see

The gentle moon, and the full radiant sun
Shining in heaven together. When he spoke,
'Twas language sweetened into song — such holy
sounds
As oft the spirit of the good man hears,
Prelusive to the harmony of heaven,
When death is nigh ! and still, as he unclosed
His sacred lips, an odour all as bland
As ocean breezes gather from the flowers
That blossom in Elysium, breathed around !"

Returning from my evening walk, I supped at the governor's, and remained there late in a crowded divan, a rich merchant from Jedda having paid his personal respects to Hassan Aga. After evening prayers, performed with all possible solemnity, these bearded elders amused themselves in playing tricks upon an old Hadji or Pilgrim, whom the governor retained among his dependants as a buffoon: among a number of other devices, the loading his pipe with gunpowder beneath the tobacco, so as to explode while smoking, and placing fire in the small outer cup in which they serve coffee, so as to burn his fingers, and make him forego his hold, were applauded by loud bursts of laughter, which, from the contrast of their general gravity, came from them with a very borrowed grace indeed.

Taking leave of this Turkish Aga, to whose kindness I had been much indebted, I retired to rest, and the differences with my guide Phanoose being amicably adjusted, the next sunrise was fixed for our departure on the Journey of Investigation already adverted to.

CHAP. XIV.

Journey in search of the ancient Canal.—Tradition of the Israelites passing the Red Sea.—Places still called the Island and Creek of the Jews.—No phenomena observed to account for this event according to the ordinary course of natural means.—Arrival at the bed of the ancient Canal.—Authorities of Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, and Pliny.—Exact correspondence of the remains with these.—Cleopatra's Voyage on this Canal in her barge.—Dreadful Storm in the Desert, and its effects.—D'Anville's, Rennell's, and Arrowsmith's Maps.—Revival of the project for a new Canal.—Railroads will now supersede its necessity.

My principal object in this extension of our Desert Journey to the north of Suez, was to ascertain, first, whether any vestiges still remained of the ancient Canal, uniting the Red Sea with the Mediterranean by way of the Nile; and next, to determine how far the same line as that traced by the ancient authors for this Canal might be made available at present; or whether any improvement could be made in it by deviating in any degree from its former course. I continue therefore to extract from my Journal of the Route the observations recorded in notes on the way, and subsequently reduced to

writing at Alexandria within a few days after the journey was ended.

Feb. 23. Our camels having drank their fill of water on the preceding evening, our charges of living having been paid, and every provision made for our journey, we left Suez as early as the dawn, passing round Kolzoum to the northward, leaving on our right "Geziret-el-Yahoudi," or the Island of the Jews, and travelling along the shore of "Hor-el-Yahoudi," or the Creek of the Jews, at the termination of which we entered the bed of the ancient Canal, which discharged itself into the head of the Red Sea. Neither in the course of our route, however, nor here at its mouth, could we distinguish any thing which could lead to a satisfactory decision as to the remains of Arsinoë; so that the idea I had entertained on the summit of the Mount of Kolzoum was rather confirmed than otherwise. While halting for the purpose of examination, we found here a small party of Arabs, four in number, who were returning to Egypt through the tract of El Ouadi; and as they professed themselves perfectly acquainted with this section of the Desert, we agreed to let them share our coffee, tobacco, and protection, for their services as guides, on condition that they were to make any de-

viation from the common route which I might command.

For the first hour of our journeying in company with these Arabs, we were entertained with the traditional history of the pursuit of Moses by Pharaoh, of the miraculous escape of the fugitives, and the complete destruction of the pursuing host. As their knowledge of the subject was merely traditional, neither of them being able to read, it was not to be wondered at that they should differ in their relations of this event; but various as their accounts were, each differed but little from that received among us. They all agreed, however, in pointing out the scene of this event at some miles north of Suez, observing, that in those days the sea extended farther into the Desert than it does at present.

I may add, that during all my journey along this part of the coast, I could discover none of those natural phenomena which many have supposed sufficient to account for the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites, and the subsequent destruction of Pharaoh's hosts by what are called natural means; there being nothing in the configuration of the land, or the flowing of the tides, or the prevalence of particular winds, that could produce the separation of the waters, as described by the sacred historian; so

that the integrity of its history stands unimpeached by any circumstances visible on the spot, at all calculated to take away from its miraculous character.

From the level of the sandy plain being slightly below the surface of the Red Sea, the water flows northward of Suez for some distance through the bed of the ancient Canal, and the rains also finding a reception in its hollow bed, without the power of drawing it off, as the sands are firm, and in some places even mixed with clay and gravel, the whole of the channel appears as though but recently left dry.

Having the castle of Adjeroud considerably on our left, we rode, for upwards of three hours, or twelve miles, and at least four hours beyond Suez, in the very bed of the ancient Canal itself, following it in all its curves, the general direction of the whole being thus far northerly. It appears not to have been lined with masonry, the embankments of the soil originally thrown up still remaining. In some parts, the channel has been so filled up as to leave the limits of its width scarcely perceptible, while in others it is now more than twenty feet in depth; nor does its destruction appear to have been, as some have supposed, from the shifting nature of the sands around it; for the whole of the ground through which it was thus far cut is firm gravelly soil, mixed with earth, a

fine layer of which now covers the surface of the bed. The uniformity of its breadth is admirable, scarcely ever exceeding or falling short of a hundred feet.

That the communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea had been attempted, by opening a Canal from the Nile into the Red Sea, no one had denied; but its completion or actual discharge into the latter had been a subject of question and dispute, until the masterly and profound dissertation of Rennell seemed to have set the matter at rest; and the materials on which Arrowsmith's excellent chart was formed removed even the possibility of doubt. It was a high satisfaction to me, therefore, when treading on this disputed ground, to recapitulate the authorities on which this historical fact was founded, and to compare, as we went along, the features yet distinguishable, with the original descriptions scattered through these early records. As they were among the extracted memoranda, intended to assist my observations on this journey, I cannot do better than recapitulate them here.

Herodotus (Euterpe, 158.) says, "Psammitichus had a son, whose name was Necos, by whom he was succeeded in his authority. This prince first commenced that Canal leading to the Red Sea, which Darius, King of Persia, afterwards continued. The length of this Canal

is equal to a four days' voyage, and it is wide enough to admit two triremes abreast. The water enters it from the Nile, a little above the city of Bubastis; it terminated in the Red Sea, not far from Patumus, an Arabian town. They began to sink the Canal in that part of Egypt which is nearest to Arabia. Contiguous to it is a mountain which stretches toward Memphis, and contains quarries of stone. Commencing at the foot of this, it extends from east to west through a considerable track of country, and where a mountain opens to the south it is discharged into the Arabian Gulf. In the prosecution of this work under Necos, no less than one hundred thousand men perished. He at length desisted from his undertaking, being admonished by an oracle that all his labour would turn to the advantage of a barbarian."

Strabo (803. and 804.), says, "There is another Canal, terminating at the Arabian Gulf, and the city of Arsinoë, sometimes called Cleopatris. It passes through those called the Bitter Lakes, whose waters indeed were formerly bitter, but which have been sweetened since the cutting of this Canal, by an admixture with those of the Nile, and now abound with delicate fish, and are crowded with water-fowl. This Canal was first made by Sesostris, before the war of Troy. Some say that the son of Psammitichus (Necho) just began the work and then died. The first Darius carried on the undertaking, but desisted from finishing it, on a false opinion that, as the Red Sea is higher than Egypt, the cutting of the isthmus between them would necessarily lay that country under water. The Ptolemies disproved this error, and by means of

weirs, or locks, rendered the Canal navigable to the sea, without obstruction or inconvenience. Near to Arsinoë stand the cities Heroum and Cleopatris, the latter of which is on that recess of the Arabian Gulf which penetrates into Egypt. Here are harbours, and dwellings, and several canals, with lakes adjacent to them. The Canal leading to the Red Sea begins at Phaccusa, to which the Philon is contiguous."

Diodorus (lib. i. c. 3.) says, "From Pelusium to the Arabian Gulf a Canal was opened. Necho, son of Psammitichus, first began the work; after him Darius, the Persian, carried it on, but left it unfinished, being told that if he cut through the isthmus, Egypt would be laid under water; for that the Red Sea lay higher than Egypt. The last attempt was made by Ptolemy the Second, who succeeded, by means of a new canal with sluices, which were opened and shut as convenience required. The Canal opened by Ptolemy was called after his name, and fell into the Red Sea at Arsinoe."

Pliny (lib. 6. cap. 20.) says, "Sesostris, King of Egypt, was the first that planned the scheme of uniting the Red Sea with the Nile by a navigable Canal of sixty-two miles, which is the space that intervenes between them. In this he was followed by Darius, King of Persia, and also by Ptolemy of Egypt, the second of that name, who made a Canal of one hundred feet wide by thirty in depth, continuing it thirty-seven and a half miles to the Bitter Fountains. At this point the work was then interrupted; for it was found that the Red Sea lay higher than the land of Egypt by three cubits, and a

general inundation was feared. But some will have it, that the true cause was, that if the sea was let into the Nile, the water of it, of which alone the inhabitants drink, would be spoiled."

The breadth and depth of the bed through which we had travelled this morning corresponded exactly with the dimensions given by Pliny, as one hundred feet by thirty, allowing for the deposits which must have taken place in those parts the least filled up by time; because, as I before observed, it everywhere preserved that breadth, with admirable regularity, and was in many places more than twenty feet in depth at the present moment.

In the Life of Mark Antony, mention is made of this excursion of Cleopatra, from Alexandria to Arsinoë, or as some called it, Cleopatris. She undertook the voyage by the Canal, but on arriving at the Shallow Lakes, called the Bitter Lakes, and sometimes the Bitter Fountains, through part of which the Canal ran, it was found that, from neglect, the sands had been permitted to accumulate, and the splendid barges and galleys, constituting the fleet of the queen and her retinue, grounded; but the rowers and steersmen being ordered to lighten them, for the purpose of floating them farther on, they applied their strength no longer to the oars, but actually drew

them across the sands, till the Canal became sufficiently deep to receive and float them onward on its bosom to the city of their destination.

To resume the Journal of our Route. After having travelled all the morning in the bed of the ancient Canal, but without being able to discover a vestige of anything like masonry, or indication of the sluices by which its waters were said to have been regulated, we had lost at noon all traces of its course; though we continued our direction still northerly, inclining two or three points to the west, until we gained the site of the Bitter Lakes, as they were called by the ancients, and named the Salt Marshes in more modern maps. We traversed the Desert here in every direction, for a diameter of ten miles, having fleet trotting dromedaries beneath us, without finding the least portion of water, although it had evidently been the receptacle of an extensive lake, and has its bed at this moment below the level of the sea at Suez. The soil here differs from all around it. On leaving the last traces of the Canal, we had entered upon a loose shifting sand; here we found a firm clay mixed with gravel, and, though perfectly dry, its surface was encrusted over with a strong salt.

The morning was delightful, on our setting out, and promised us a fine day; but the light air from the

south had increased to a gale. The sun became obscure; and getting every hour into a looser sand, it flew around us in such whirlwinds, with the sudden gusts that blew, that it was impossible to proceed. We halted, therefore, for an hour, and sheltered ourselves under the lee of our camels, who were themselves so terrified as to need fastening by the knees, and uttered in their moanings but a melancholy symphony.

I know not whether it was the novelty of the situation, that gave it additional horror, or whether the habit of magnifying evils to which we are unaccustomed, had increased its effect; but certain it is, that fifty gales of wind at sea appeared to me more easy to be encountered than one among those sands. It is impossible to imagine desolation more complete. We could neither see the earth, nor sun, nor sky. The plain, at ten paces distant, was absolutely imperceptible; our animals, as well as ourselves, were so covered with the sand as to render breathing difficult. They hid their faces in the ground, and we could only uncover our own for a moment, to behold this chaos of midday darkness, and wait impatiently for its abatement. Alexander's journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and the destruction of the Persian armies of Cambyses in the Libyan desert, rose to my

recollection with new impressions made by the horror of the scene before me; while Addison's admirable lines, which I also remembered with peculiar force on this occasion, seemed to possess as much truth as beauty:—.

"Lo! where our wide Numidian wastes extend,
Sudden the impetuous hurricanes descend;
Wheel through the air, in circling eddies play,
Tear up the sands, and sweep whole plains away:
The helpless traveller, with wild surprise,
Sees the dry Desert all around him rise,
And smother'd in the dusty whirlwind dies!"

The few hours we remained in this situation were passed in unbroken silence. Every one was occupied in his own reflections, as if the reign of terror forbade communication.

The fury of the desert gale spent itself, like the storms of ocean, in sudden lulls and squalls, but it was not until the third or fourth interval that our fears were sufficiently conquered to enable us to address each other; nor shall I soon lose the recollection of the impressive manner in which that was done. "Allah kereem!—God is merciful!" exclaimed the poor Bedouin, although habit had familiarised him with these resistless blasts. "Allah kereem!" repeated the Egyptians, with terrified solemnity; and

both my servant and myself, as if by instinct, joined in the general exclamation. The bold imagery of the Eastern poets, describing the Deity as avenging in his anger, and terrible in his wrath, riding upon the wings of the whirlwind, and breathing his fury in the storm, must have been inspired by scenes like these.

It was now past sunset, and neither of us had yet broken our fast for the day. Even the consoling pipe could not be lighted in the hurricane, and it was in vain to think of remaining in our present station, while the hope of finding some bush for shelter remained. We remounted our camels, therefore, and departed. The young moon afforded us only a faint light, and all traces of the common road were completely obliterated. The stars were not even visible through so disturbed an atmosphere, and my compass was our only guide. The Arabs knew a spot, near Sheikh Amedid, where banks and trees were to be found; and confiding in my direction for the course thither, we resumed our journey.

After a silent ride of five tedious hours, this garden of repose appeared in sight, and bleak and barren as in reality it was, fatigue and apprehension gave it the charms of Eden. Here we alighted, fed our weary animals, and, like sailors escaped from ship-

wreck, rejoiced in that delightful consciousness of security, which is known only in the safety that succeeds to danger.

It was a source of high gratification to me thus to have completed a journey, undertaken for the express purpose of examining the remains of a Canal, whose very existence had been disputed by some, and its completion doubted by others, notwithstanding the positive testimony of the historians already quoted, more particularly of Herodotus,—with whose description of its course out of the Nile from west to east, and then turning off southerly toward the Red Sea,—its breadth sufficient to admit two triremes abreast,—and its being so circuitous as to make its length equal to a four days' voyage;—its remains so accurately correspond, as to stamp a high character for veracity on the writings of that Father of History.

The question as to the position of the head of the Canal, or the exact point from which it led off from the Nile, can only be discussed by a comparison of the different authorities on which it rests, and arguments founded on the bearings, distances, &c., of places mentioned in them,—a task which has been so satisfactorily performed by the able pen of Rennell as to leave nothing to be added to it. The Canal of Trajan, as described by Ptolemy to lead through the

Egyptian Babylon, or Fostat, may, as d'Anville and Rennell suppose, be recognised in that which, after watering the city of Cairo, discharges itself into the Birket-el-Hadji, or Lake of the Pilgrims; and the Canal of Amrou may have been that now traceable in a portion of a bed which runs to the northward of Heliopolis: but since the cultivation of the soil here has obliterated all traces of the work of Necos which Darius continued, as far at least as to the edge of the Desert, one can only say that the vicinity of its last vestiges, and their inclining line of direction to Bubastis, give every reason to believe that Herodotus and Diodorus were extremely accurate, the one in making the water to enter the Canal from the Nile near Bubastis, the other from the Pelusian branch of that great stream.

Two powerful reasons no doubt led the ancient Egyptians to make the Canal run from the eastern branch of the Nile, instead of from the Mediterranean into the Red Sea. The first was the difference of elevation in the levels, the Red Sea being several feet higher than the Mediterranean, and the water in the former subject to a rise and fall of six feet by the ebb and flood tide, which does not exist in the latter; an inequality which would have caused a constant flow of current from south to north, and

would have required many locks to regulate. The second reason probably was to have a more complete command over the Canal, and prevent its being used by the ships or galleys of other nations without their permission. Both these objects were admirably secured by the Canal going from Bubastis on the Nile, some fifty or sixty miles higher up than its embouchure in the Mediterranean, by which means an equal level was preserved between the waters of the Nile and those of the Red Sea; and by compelling all ships that used the Canal to pass through Egypt itself on their way, the Government could restrict its advantages within whatever limits they pleased.

I believe, therefore, that the best mode of uniting the two seas would still be by a Canal running in the exact line or bed of the ancient one, as more easy of excavation, being all within firm ground, while the tract to the north of it is covered with loose shifting sands; and by deepening the river on the Damietta branch to admit vessels of moderate draft of water, the passage from sea to sea in the same ship could be easily effected.

While this sheet is going through the press, I learn by the public journals that the present ruler of Egypt, Said Pasha, has granted to a French gentleman,

M. Lessepps, the privilege of opening a Canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; that its estimated cost is 6,000,000*l.* sterling, and that the whole of this capital is to be raised from shareholders in Europe. From the large amount of the cost, it may be presumed that the intention is to run the line direct from sea to sea, which will have all the disadvantages that the old Canal, from the Nile to the Suez, avoided. But independently of this difficulty, I believe the season has passed by for such an enterprise to be undertaken; as a Railroad could be constructed from Cairo to Suez for one sixth of the amount which is estimated for the cost of a Canal; the distance being only about sixty miles, in a straight line; the ground generally firm, formed of clay embedded with gravel, and scarcely any loose sand beyond a few inches on the surface; while there would be no landowners to pay for going through their estates; no law or parliamentary proceedings to obtain an act or charter of incorporation; and labour and subsistence to be had at a cheaper rate than any country in Europe. For light goods and passengers the expense and delay of transhipment would not be greater than the canal dues and passage of vessels from one sea to the other; so that if this route to the

East is to be shortened and cheapened at the same time, a Railroad from Cairo to Suez would be the preferable mode of effecting it. I should observe, that no Railroads existed even in England or any other country at the time of my proposing to re-open the ancient Canal (1814),—or I should then have given it the preference. The same reasons would lead me to believe that the junction of the Atlantic and Pacific would be more easily effected by a Railroad than by a navigable Canal;—the expense of which would be too great, and the prospect of profit from it too uncertain and too remote for any mercantile Company to undertake it.

CHAP. XV.

Journey through the Land of Goshen, the portion of the Israelites.—Pelusium, Menzaleh, and the Zoan of Scripture. —Works of the Hebrew captives still seen there.—Arrival at Damietta, the chief port of the Nile.—Cross the whole of the Delta, from east to west.—Visit the ruined sites of Busiris, Thaubastis, and Sais.—Arrival at Alexandria, and reception there.—Wreck of a ship from Malta, off Cape Bourolos.—Captain Berrington, a traveller for the interior of Africa.—Excursions on the Nile and in the Delta.—Kindness of the Orientals to the brute creation.—Fire and docility of the Arab horse.—Description of this by Job.—Anecdote of an Arab merchant and voracious pigeons.—Arrival of a Scottish traveller and his Prussian companion.—Accompany Mr. Maxwell and Captain Bramsen to Cairo.

THE remainder of our journey from the edge of the Desert was through the cultivated portion of the Land of Goshen, the territory assigned to the Israelites by Pharaoh, in the course of which we visited the site of the ancient Pelusium, on the easternmost branch of the Nile, the Lake Menzaleh, and Janis, the Zoan of the Scriptures, where the brick-works of the children of Israel are still seen; thence to Damietta, a much larger town than Rosetta, the second indeed in Egypt, where we re-

mained some days; and from thence proceeded to cross the whole of the Delta, visiting the sites of Busiris, Thaubastis, Sais, and many other remarkable places; and going thence to Alexandria, where I again found an agreeable home in the house of the British Consul, Mr. Lee.

During my stay here a ship from Malta was wrecked on Cape Bourolos, the southern point of the Delta, and all her cargo scattered on the waves. Captain Berrington, of the Royal Engineers, who came a passenger by her, with leave of absence to undertake a journey into Africa, lost all his instruments, papers, and books, and was obliged to relinquish his undertaking, though full of intelligence and zeal, and highly qualified for his task, as far as I could judge from some days' intercourse with him. This gentleman was so injured and dispirited that he was obliged to return to Malta, where he soon afterwards died in the Lazaretto or Quarantine Ground of that island.

I remained at Alexandria during the whole of the spring and summer of 1814, waiting for the Pasha's return from his tedious campaign against the Wahabees, as nothing could be decided on till then. I employed the interval in improving my knowledge of Arabic, in drawing up my Report on the Isthmus

of Suez and the proposed Canal, and in reducing to the narrative form the notes and memoranda I had made each day on the spot during my voyage into Upper Egypt, and my journey across the Delta, in which I visited many spots never before seen by any European, or at least by any traveller who has given the result of his labours to the world.

In this interval also I made several excursions on the Nile, to portions of the Delta and Lower Egypt; and thus became more and more familiar with the country, its language, and the manners and customs of its inhabitants, some traits of which deserve mention. One very remarkable feature of the Oriental character is the kindness manifested towards the brute creation, compared with the cruelty exercised on them too frequently by Europeans. In their treatment of the horse, for instance, nothing can exceed the gentle and even fond caresses with which the riders pet their animals, neither the whip nor the spur being ever required or used; the result of which is, that these creatures, though full of the fire and animation of the war-horse as described by Job (xxxix. 19.),—"whose neck is clothed with thunder, and the glory of whose nostrils is terrible; who mocketh at fear, and swalloweth the ground with fierceness; who smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the

captains, and the shouting,"—is as docile as a lamb, and repays its keeper's kindness with grateful submission to all his wishes, so that a gentle word is sufficient either to put it on its mettle, or to stop it in mid career. Boys of eight and nine years of age mount the desert horses without saddle or bridle, and go off at a full gallop, holding only the mane; and if perchance the youth should lose his seat and fall, the animal immediately stops, caresses the fallen rider by licking him with his tongue, and raising its head in the air, neighs as loudly as possible to call some one to his assistance.

But the most remarkable illustration of this kindness to the lower orders of created beings that I remember was this. On one occasion I was descending the Nile in a large undecked boat, called a jerm, which was deeply laden with wheat in bulk from Upper Egypt, going to Alexandria for a market. As neither Turks nor Arabs use fowling pieces, and are unable to comprehend the pleasure felt by European travellers in killing birds for sport, there is no destruction of any of the feathered tribes through these means; and they accordingly multiply prodigiously. This is especially the case with pigeons, of which I have seen flocks containing perhaps a million of separate birds, extending for more than a mile in length

and breadth, and flying so thickly as to obscure the light of the sun like a heavy thunder-cloud. In seed-time, these flocks will frequently alight behind the sower, and eat up perhaps half the grain he has scattered on the earth; but the fertility of Egypt is so excessive, with their double and triple harvests in the year, that this deduction is not heeded, and the flocks revel unmolested in their enjoyment of the banquet thus spread before them. At night they repair to the numerous towers or pigeon-houses in the villages, each of which contains accommodations for several hundreds at a time.

On the present occasion, as the jerm was slowly descending the Nile by the force of the current only, there came off from every village that we passed, a large flock of pigeons, and alighted on the grain, as it was heaped up open in the centre of the boat. Successive groups of these at last so entirely covered the whole surface of the wheat, that not a grain could be seen; and the first layer was soon succeeded by a second, and then by a third. It was amusing to see the struggles made by each of these in turn; the under layer, having eaten their fill, were anxious to escape, and take their flight; the upper layer, being voraciously hungry, were as eager to get at the grain below, and stretched their necks out, and dived their

bills downward for this purpose; while the centre layer seemed likely to be crushed between the two. All this while the reis, or captain of the boat, sat near the helm, smoking his pipe with the utmost composure, and looking complacently on the scene. At length I could not forbear asking him, to whom all this grain belonged, conceiving it to be a cargo on freight for some corn-merchants, and thinking the captain a very indifferent guardian of their interests. To this question he replied, "Belongs?—it all belongs to me." I asked him, whether he did not view with some regret the immense consumption of it going on before his eyes; as, if it proceeded at this rate, full half of it would be consumed by the pigeons before he reached Alexandria, and his loss would be very considerable. He then begun to question me in his turn; and asked me first, "Do you not think that God, who made the pigeons as well as man, intended them also to be fed?" I could not but say "Certainly." "Is not," he continued, "grain their natural food?" I confessed it was. "Can they," said he, "plough, and sow, and reap, as we can, to obtain it?" I was compelled to answer "No." "Then was it not clearly the intention of the Creator, that they should take it wherever they could find it?" To this even I could offer no dissent "Why then,"

said he, "let them eat their full, and be satisfied. The earth is the Lord's, and the abundance thereof, and he meant that all his creatures should be partakers of his bounty." I said, I could not but admire his belief and his practice; but I thought no Christian corn-merchants would act upon this Mohammedan view of the case, but would protect, as they would call it, their property from loss. "Then," said he "they would act unwisely; for God never suffers man to lose by discharging his duty to any of his creatures: He administers the affairs of the world with more wisdom and justice than this." I asked, whether such a diminution in the store of grain before us would not inevitably involve loss? "In quantity," he replied, "undoubtedly, for the half can never be equal to the whole; but not in value, for this is the course of commerce. If all the boats laden with grain arrive at Alexandria without any diminution of their cargoes, there will be a glut in the market, and the price will fall. If, on the contrary, nearly half of each cargo should be consumed before it reaches the port, there will be a short supply, and prices will rise: so that in all probability I shall get just as much money at high prices for my half-cargo as I should have done at low prices for the whole; and thus you perceive, God does not permit me to be a loser by my

kindness to his creatures, for I shall be fully remunerated, and the pigeons will have had their bellies full into the bargain." Here then was a sagacious man, who, though he had never heard the names of Adam Smith, Say, Ricardo, Mill, or Maculloch, understood as much of the science of political economy as relates to supply and demand as these great masters; and with this superiority over them, that he regarded the just distribution of the produce of the earth for enjoyment, as of even greater value than the increase of production for national or individual wealth or aggrandisement.

In August there arrived at Alexandria a travelling party of Europeans, consisting of the eldest son of Sir John Maxwell, Bart., of Pollok, just then of age, and his travelling companion, Mr. Bramsen, an officer of the Prussian army, a great linguist and a very accomplished man, with their suite. I met with them at Damanhaour on my way to Cairo, and we performed the rest of the journey very agreeably together. Their stay at Cairo was very short, as they pursued their way to Palestine and Syria, while I remained with Colonel Missett at Boulac, to arrange an appointment for an interview with Mohammed Ali Pasha, who had by this time returned.

CHAP. XVI.

First interview with Mohammed Ali Pasha. — Suggestions offered to him for improving Egypt.—Education of Egyptian youths in Europe and America. — Employment of these as Teachers among his people. — Increase of Knowledge would bring increased Wealth. — Improvement required in the quality of Egyptian Cotton.—This certain to attract British merchants and capital. — Intercourse with Europe thus made profitable. — Results of the adoption of these suggestions. — Re-opening of the Canal between the Nile and Red Sea.—Reasons assigned by the Pasha for deferring this. — His views of English policy from their past history. — Commission for me to purchase ships for him in India, and encourage the merchants there to trade with Egypt.

On the appointed day I was presented to the Pasha, in a private audience, by Boghos Yuseff; and His Highness being informed that I spoke Arabic sufficiently well to dispense with an interpreter, his secretaries and attendants were dismissed, as he wished our conversation to be strictly confidential; and therefore none but his Armenian agent and myself remained in his presence. Of the Pasha's appearance and character I shall here say nothing, as that has been rendered familiar to all readers of the public journals. I will only add that his aspect

was that of a worn-out and exhausted person, but with an eye of the most penetrating nature, and a general recklessness of spirit that seemed to care very little about the means employed to accomplish his ends, provided they could be successfully employed. It was understood at this period, in all circles in Cairo, that his principal enjoyment was in his harem, which already contained some hundreds of the most beautiful women of Georgia and Circassia; and that there was no present that would so effectually prepare the way for the grant of any favour as that of a young and beautiful virgin. Whatever were the imputed heresies of which he was accused, as departures from the Moslem faith, or lapsing into infidelity, in this he was a perfect Mohammedan, and resembled the great Prophet himself in the peculiarities of taste ascribed to him by the Arab historians, as recorded by Gibbon.

In the course of his conversation he said he was glad at length to have met with an English traveller who could give him practical information on two of the subjects which then most occupied his attention,—namely, Commerce and Navigation,—because he was persuaded that Egypt was a country especially calculated to benefit by both. The European gentlemen that had hitherto been introduced to him, though

no doubt well informed on other subjects, (being mostly men of fortune fresh from the universities, and travelling either for pleasure or for antiquarian researches,) were generally ignorant of both; and he had learned nothing from them on these two subjects. He desired me, therefore, as I had passed some years in the practice of navigation and maritime trade, to give him, with the utmost frankness, my views as to the best means he could take to promote both for Egypt, either towards Europe and America in the West, or to India and China in the East. I accordingly stated to him my views at great length, in an audience which lasted from seven in the evening, after the sunset meal, to midnight, the substance of which was nearly as follows:—

I observed that the chief cause of the superiority of Europe and America, over Asia and Africa, was the greater amount of knowledge, and its wider diffusion, among all classes of their inhabitants. Reading and writing being known to almost all above the very lowest classes, each individual could possess himself of the information acquired and recorded by others, as well as that which he gathered from his own experience; and the accumulated mass of knowledge every day added to the common store was, therefore, immense. This led to all manner of dis-

coveries in agriculture, mining, and manufactures, in which geology, mineralogy, chemistry, and botany produced daily improvements. The science of astronomy being well understood, made navigation to the most distant parts of the world as easy as mere coasting voyages were to the ancients. And by this constantly-increasing knowledge, the wealth and power of nations, as well as individuals, went on augmenting from year to year. Now in Egypt especially, intelligence was confined to very few, and that of the most limited kind, while the great bulk of the people remained in profound ignorance, and were hardly a degree above the wild tribes of uncivilised lands. The first great want of Egypt, therefore, was Knowledge. The importation of this into the country at once might be impossible; first, because it would be difficult to get any number of professors from Europe, competent by their knowledge of Arabic to teach what they knew to any number of pupils in this country; and secondly, being Christian professors, the religious prejudices of the people might be alarmed at the possible introduction of heresy or infidelity, so that pupils could not be got to attend them. This difficulty might be overcome, however, by the following mode:—Let your Highness (said I), select, from the families of Cairo, belonging to the officers of Govern-

ment, a hundred or more of intelligent youths, from fourteen to sixteen years of age, and send them at your own expense to England, France, and America, there to be educated and maintained at your cost till twenty-one years of age, so diversifying their studies as that there should be scarcely any useful art or science taught in either of these countries which some of them at least would not acquire; sending all at first to school or college for three or four years, and then dispersing them,— some into the agricultural, some into the manufacturing, and others into the ship-building towns — to acquire a practical knowledge of each of these important branches of knowledge. When their studies were completed let them return to Egypt, and there become a constituted body of Professors, to teach all they had themselves acquired to others, which, Arabic being their native tongue, and Mohammedanism their religion, they could do without the difficulties and prejudices which would prevent the success of European teachers. And their places being supplied by others sent abroad to study in the same manner, a perpetual supply of intelligent men would be constantly added to the Egyptian population. I assured the Pasha this would be at once the cheapest and most efficient mode of advancing his country in that knowledge and those arts which dis-

tinguished civilised nations from barbarous ones. I cited to him the examples of the ancient Greeks coming into Egypt to acquire the knowledge of which it was then the chief seat, such as Pythagoras, Herodotus, and others; that of the ancient Romans going to Athens to improve their knowledge from the Greeks; and of the western nations going to Rome for a similar purpose; and in every case with evident individual and national advantage.

The Pasha listened to all this with great attention, interposing every now and then an inquiry, which was answered; when he assured me he was so convinced of the wisdom of the advice, that he should at once act upon it, which in reality he did; and I have myself subsequently had the pleasure to receive in London the visits of several of these students, as well as to meet with them at Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and elsewhere; but whether this policy is still continued, I know not. As far as it went, however, it has advanced Egypt half a century at least in her career, and made the European name and character, which was once an opprobrium in Egypt, a sure passport to respect, attention, and hospitality.

The next consideration was, what could be done, in the meantime, of more immediate operation, to induce English merchants to visit Egypt, and to

establish a mutually advantageous commerce between these two countries. To this I observed, that the English were an enterprising and money-making people; and wherever a reasonable hope of profit presented itself, they would be sure to be attracted in large numbers. At present the commerce of Egypt with England was of limited extent, chiefly from two causes. Its grain could not be admitted but on payment of high duties, levied as a protection to British agriculture; and its cotton, indigo, and sugar were in little or no request, from the inferiority of their qualities. With respect to any change in the fiscal system of England relating to the free admission of corn, however desirable this might be for the general benefit of all classes, the landed interest was too powerful in the legislature to encourage much hope of any speedy change. But with respect to the improvement and qualities of the other products named, this was entirely within his own power to effect. I recommended him, therefore, to begin with cotton, the quality of which was then so coarse, and its preparation for the market so imperfect, that it stood at the lowest point in the scale of prices, and could only be used in making the most inferior fabrics. I advised him to send at once an agent and a ship to the Southern States of

America—say Georgia, Alabama, or Louisiana—provided with sufficient capital to purchase seeds of the best kinds of cotton grown on the coast and in the interior of these States, offering large rewards to any persons thoroughly acquainted with the mode of planting and rearing this cotton through all its stages, and purchasing all the necessary machinery for picking, cleaning, and packing it when ready for exportation. I ventured to predict that, if this were done, the Pasha would soon see the cotton of Egypt taking rank, side by side, with that of the sea-island cotton of America, becoming quite as much in demand, and producing fully as high a price; the fact being that the consumption of cotton by the manufacturers of England increased at a more rapid rate than its present production, and that the demand for the raw material was therefore sure to increase. I added, "Your highness has only to follow this advice, and you will find that English merchants and English agents will flock to Egypt in much larger numbers than those who now visit it to gratify their learned curiosity in the examination of its marvellous antiquities."

Of this advice the Pasha also expressed his entire approbation; and it was speedily carried into effect. The result has been that Egyptian cotton has risen

from the coarsest to the finest kind produced, and its price raised at least threefold. Large cargoes of it are now imported, and have been for some years past, into the Mersey and the Clyde, for the manufactures of Manchester and Glasgow; and for every cargo of raw cotton imported into England and Scotland, a cargo of manufactured goods is sent to Egypt, so that both countries are enriched by this improvement and exchange; indeed it would not be extravagant to set down the gain to England during the twenty years this has been in operation (for it is thirty years since the advice was given and the experiment set on foot) at several millions sterling.

Our next topic was that of the re-opening the ancient Canal, for the purpose of making a navigable route from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, and thus facilitating the passage of laden ships to and from England and India. On this subject the Pasha remarked that he was at first certainly fascinated with the idea, and if it had been suggested to him before he had commenced his war against the Wahabees in Arabia, he should have ordered it to be commenced without delay. "But," he added, "I have since seen a great deal which makes me hesitate, as I have now serious doubts of the policy of such an undertaking, as far at least as the interests of Egypt are

involved." As I could not imagine what this could be, I begged his highness in all frankness to state to me explicitly his reasons; that if they appeared to me groundless, I might endeavour to answer them; but if sound, to acquiesce in their validity. "To say the truth, then," said he, "while I was recently at Jedda, I saw a large number of vessels in the harbour there with English colours, and I inquired whether they had come from England: to which the answer was, No; that they came from Bombay, Ceylon, Madras, and Calcutta; some from the Mauritius, and others from the Cape of Good Hope. But, I asked, do all these places then belong to the English? Oh, yes, said my informer, an intelligent merchant of Jedda, and a great many more, — such as the northern portion of America called Canada, the Islands of the West Indies, and many ports along the west coast of Africa, and the Mediterranean. I asked how this happened, — whether the English had been invited by the inhabitants of these countries to rule over them; or whether they had taken them in the ordinary way of conquest by the sword. Certainly not the former, said the merchant, nor yet exactly by the latter. But the mode they usually adopted, and which was particularly the case in India, where they have an empire larger than all their

other possessions put together, was this: —They first asked permission of the native rulers to be allowed to settle among them as merchants and traders, making it out that it would be for their mutual advantage. This being readily granted, they waited a reasonable time, and then asked leave to build a few factories to store their goods, and preserve them from injury or robbery. As nothing could be more reasonable, this privilege was also accorded. But it was next pretended that these accumulated stores of merchandise offered such temptations to the natives for plunder, that unless they were allowed to fortify them with a few cannon, and employ a few troops with muskets as a guard, there could be no safety for their property. The unsuspecting natives granted even this privilege also, and soon after their fate was sealed. It is well known, continued the merchant, that nothing is more easy than to pick a quarrel on the slightest grounds, if parties are disposed to do so. The English now pretended to discover that unless some territory were added to their factories, their safety would be very imperfect; and the native Indians were not now in so good a condition to refuse as before; for he who makes a demand with arms and troops to back it, is hardly likely to submit to a refusal. In this way, by continued encroachment

and progression, the English, who were originally admitted as mere traders on the coast, have now possessed themselves of all India, where they rule over a country as large as that of the Sultan of the Faithful, and far more rich and populous, — having a revenue of a hundred millions of dollars, and a population of a hundred millions of souls. This, concluded the Pasha, is what was told me at Jedda. What say you to the history?—is it false, or is it true?" I was not then so conversant, by a great deal, as I afterwards became, with the history of India, and our mode of acquiring our possessions there; so that I replied, "I could not say it was false; but, as far as my own knowledge went, I was inclined to fear it was true." "Then," said the Pasha, "if this Canal be made, which nation of Europe will make most use of it for their ships? Will it not be the English, in passing from their own country to their Indian empire, and back again?" I replied, "Undoubtedly." "And do you not think," said he, "that when they come to see this beautiful garden of Egypt, which is now my own, they will envy me its possession; and with that propensity which they have hitherto manifested, of first falling in love with a country, and then taking possession of it, many years will not pass before they will pick a quar-

rel with me about the Canal, or the tolls, or any other disputable point; and cut the matter short, by using their ships, which are known be the largest and best armed in the world, and in which any number of troops may be conveyed, to take possession of Egypt, as they have done of India, and pretend that it is for the interests of its inhabitants that this change of rulers should be effected?" I was obliged to admit, that judging from the antecedents of our history, this was not improbable. "And should I not then," continued the Pasha, "be thus sharpening the knife by which my own throat was to be cut? No, no, I will never be guilty of this folly at least, but wait until I hear that your countrymen have become cured of this propensity of taking what does not belong to them, and justifying the theft by alleging that the plundered parties are all the happier for their change of masters, before I give my sanction to any Canal between the two seas." In this Socratic mode of conducting the dialogue, I found the logic of the uneducated but sagacious Turk impossible to be refuted; and therefore, though with great reluctance, I considered this question of the Canal to be settled in the negative, during his lifetime at least.

After the lapse of a few days, a second interview was appointed, also in the evening, after the business

of the divan had been concluded, when I was invited to join the Pasha at his dinner or evening-meal, taken just after sunset; and after all the guests had withdrawn, Boghos Yuseff and myself remained with him again until midnight. Our conversation was now chiefly on the hydrography of the Red Sea, and the practicability of reviving the ancient commerce between India and Egypt, which I said all I could to induce him to encourage, and to which he expressed no objection whatever. Having in my possession one of the latest English charts of the Red Sea, I pointed out all the principal positions on it to the Pasha, with which he seemed much delighted. I explained to him the nature of the trade winds and monsoons, the ebbing and flowing of the tides, (which, as this phenomenon does not exist in the Mediterranean, excited his especial wonder,) and the difficulties in the way of navigation, from the immense beds of coral, often rising to the surface and running for several miles in unbroken reefs. I transcribed also on this chart the names of all the towns and harbours in Arabic characters, which gave it additional value in his estimation, and with which he several times expressed himself much pleased.

At the close of our interview he said, that, as he understood I was going to India, on behalf of the

mercantile house of the British consul Mr. Lee, he would give me a commission to purchase some ships for him, with which to commence this Indian trade, and a credit on Bombay to pay for the same, as well as a letter to the Government there in my behalf; and if the Indian merchants should be disposed to load such vessels with merchandise, he hoped I would return in charge of the vessels so to be sent, to the safety of which he would contribute by every means in his power, and do all he could to make the commerce mutually advantageous. With this assurance I was entirely satisfied; and as the Pasha intended immediately to return to the campaign in Arabia, I employed the remainder of my short stay in Cairo to prepare for my Indian voyage accordingly.

CHAP. XVII.

Departure for India by Suez and the Red Sea.—Harem of the Pasha going to the Holy War. — Mounts Horeb and Sinai, Ailoth and Ezion Geber.—Fearful storm, and loss of life and property.—Arrival at Jedda, the port of Mecca.—Extreme illness, and reception by an Arab merchant.—Visit from Othman, a Scotsman become a Turk.—Removal on board an English ship in the harbour.—Kindness and attention of Captain Boog.—Speedy recovery.—Visit from Mr. Burckhardt, who came down from Mecca.—Anecdote of Othman, and the Scotch catechism.—Mistranslation of the Scriptures into Arabic.—Letters of Mr. Burckhardt from Mecca.—Anecdote of an Indian Fakir and his prayers.—Successful issue of faith and perseverance.

ALMOST immediately after our interview, the Pasha, who had made a hurried visit to Cairo, for the direction of some public affairs, returned again to Arabia to continue his campaign against the Wahabees, a set of Arab reformers, deriving their name from their great apostle Abd-el-Wahab, a kind of Mohammedan Luther, who denounced the superstitions and practices of the present race of Moslems, and contended for a purer faith, and more rigid observance of its doctrines. Like most religious wars, therefore, it was

carried on with great inveteracy on either side. I remained a short time after this to prepare for my Indian voyage, and when all was ready left Cairo for this purpose.

I was furnished with all the necessary letters and commissions for India, from Colonel Missett and the Pasha, as well as from Mr. Lee, on account of his mercantile establishment; and Boghos Yuseff placed me under the special charge of the Emir el Hadj, or Prince of the Caravan, just then departing for Suez, with an immense concourse of pilgrims bound to the Holy City of Mecca. This officer was the Treasurer of the Pasha, and had assumed the name of "Buonaparte." There was in the same party a young German enthusiast, Dr. Kesler, who it was said had killed a rival lover in an affray at Vienna, and escaped here for refuge; and who, from wearing a naked dagger suspended round his neck inside his shirt, and evincing most extraordinary eccentricities, was considered as a madman by the Turks, and was therefore sure of their protection, as they regard all such persons as peculiar favourites of Allah. I was unfortunately suffering great debility from a severe fever, which made the journey across the Desert painful and tedious, and the more so as the immense number of camels, and persons — twenty

thousand in all it was said—made our progress unusually slow. Among the parties going on the pilgrimage to Mecca, were thirty ladies of the harem of Mohammed Ali, who, it was alleged, after seeing the Holy City and performing their devotions there, were to join his highness in his encampment as a light-travelling detachment, to solace his hours of leisure from the fatigues of war! These travelled in wheeled carriages closely veiled with curtains, through which, however, every now and then, a young and pretty face was seen to look out, enjoying the scene with a pleasing smile, and then retiring to give place to some other beauty.

We reached Suez on the 18th of October, and finding a large fleet of native vessels, called dows, assembled here for the conveyance of such of the pilgrims as might prefer the sea route to Jedda, while others went by land, I obtained a berth on board one of these; and on the following day we proceeded on our voyage. The incidents of our passage from Suez to Jedda were numerous and varied; and the places passed — including the site of encampment of the Israelites under Moses; the wells whose waters were changed from bitter to sweet at his intervention; the port of Tor, and hoary mountains of Horeb and Sinai; the gulf of Akaba, and ports of Ailoth

and Ezion Geber, from which Solomon's fleets sailed on their distant voyages to Tarshish, Ophir, and the East; and a great number of other equally interesting spots — might well deserve a lengthened description — which, indeed my Journals kept on the way contain — but I forbear what might be considered, perhaps, in the present instance at least, a digression from the Personal Narrative, and content myself with a single extract from my unpublished manuscripts of this voyage, as strictly belonging to what may be called personal adventures, and at the same time as furnishing a specimen of the kind of dangers to be encountered in the navigation of the Red Sea by the native vessels of the country.

To avoid the excessive heat, cramped position, innumerable insects and vermin, and clamorous noise, which had all to be encountered by remaining on board the vessel, I had contrived a very secure and agreeable retreat, of a novel but most efficient kind. I made, from the spare rope on board, of which I purchased a small coil, a strong open net, sufficiently large to enclose my whole person. This was made to hang over the stern of the vessel, and to be lowered down and hoisted up by a double block tackle. Into this net I enshrouded myself every morning after breakfast, and lowering it down to the water's edge,

I lay securely sheltered in the shade of the overhanging stern, and heard no other noise than the pleasant rush and gurgle of the water occasioned by the vessel's track around the rudder; while, if it became unusually warm, having complete command of the tackle-fall, I could lower myself entirely beneath the surface of the water, and after a cool plunge-bath, hoist myself up again to my original position, and dry my loose garments, on as they were, without any risk of taking cold. On the 25th of October, however, we had a most disagreeable interruption to our usual course. We were then in the latitude of about 27° N.,—Suez being in 30° N.,—and towards evening we anchored as usual, this being the constant practice when the wind was not fair, in a small bay near Istubbal Antar; when the huge sail was unbent, the tiller unshipped, and all prepared for our remaining here till morning. A change, however, soon came over the weather, the character of which and the consequences to which it led, will be seen from the record of it which I here transcribe from the Manuscript Journal of that day.

"The brilliance of the moon was occasionally obscured by a dark and heavy cloud, and this veiling of her light became more frequent, until the sky was completely overcast; and after half an hour's vivid

lightning, it poured down a deluge of rain. It was as if the stormy elements were contending with each other for the palm of supremacy in terror, while earth, air, and ocean stood alike unagitated to behold the conflict; for while the lightning flashed around us in all the grandeur of its awful glare, and one continued torrent of rain seemed as if it had been poured out by some superior hand to quench the fiery stream, all else was still and motionless in one unbroken calm. Soon afterwards, however, strong gusts of wind rushed down between the hills, and every squall blew us from our anchorage. We lay, as usual, with our sail unbent, and while the passengers were shrieking with alarm, the crew were lost in fear and confusion. The shipping the tiller, bending the sail, and setting it, was generally the work of an hour; but the anchor was now sufficient to pre-occupy their attention, as they were the more afraid of losing it, from its being the only one they possessed. Amidst the general outcry, the gusts of wind became more frequent and more furious; we were every moment approaching nearer to destruction on a lee-shore; and despair was seen in every countenance, and heard in every voice.

"I will not say that 'our situation may be more easily imagined than described,' for however difficult

would be the latter, I believe the former to be impossible to all who were not on the spot. We had on board eighty-seven male pilgrims, besides their wives and children, which, including the crew, made a total of more than two hundred persons, and not a voice among them was silent. I had attempted an interference on my first perceiving the danger; and since there was neither a spare anchor to let go, nor more cable to veer out upon the one by which we rode, I advised the immediate bending of the sail, and standing out to sea, as the only means of safety. My proposal of braving the offing in a night of such tempestuous weather as this, was regarded as that of a madman, and was consequently rejected; so that I retired in silence, stripped myself of all my garments, except my loose Arab cotton drawers, and slinging over one shoulder my sword, and over the other the small case in which my letters of introduction and commissions, my manuscript notes and my watch were contained, I rolled myself in my net beneath the stern, prepared for leaping overboard and swimming for my life if necessary. In the mean time the reis gave twenty contradictory orders in a breath; the crew hurried from stem to stern, and from stern to stem again, without effecting anything; the children shrieked with affright at the uproar; and

the women uttered the bitterest cries of despair; while one portion of the pilgrims, who insisted upon prayer as the only means of saving us, absolutely fought for room in which to perform their prostrations; and the other joined the crew in accusing them of being untrue believers, and of having no faith in God, whose prophet Mohammed had declared, that 'what he has written must come to pass,' and therefore prayers could not avail. Never did I before witness such a scene as this storm presented; and it will be impossible for me ever to lose the recollection of it.

"The worst, however, had not yet arrived; for having been drifted out into deeper water by the gusts of wind coming down through the valleys, a sudden and violent squall taking the dow upon her larboard quarter, luffed her instantly to the wind; and when she again fell off with stern-way, laid her gunwale completely under water. About thirty of the poor wretches, who were to leeward, were tumbled into the sea; the heavy baggage of the deck followed next, and wounded many of them; several horses had their legs broken, five of the men were drowned, and all were more or less mangled and injured.

"Though I escaped all personal injury from the

security in which I lay suspended over the stern, I was a loser of some of the most important part of my baggage, including clothes, papers, nautical instruments, arms and ammunition, and all my stock of cash; so that my plight was a pitiable one in which to appear at Jedda, as the representative of the British merchants of Egypt and agent of the Pasha of that country."

After a most tedious and painful voyage of ten days more, we reached Jedda on Sunday the 6th of November; but by this time I was so ill with fever and so weak by exhaustion, that it was with considerable difficulty that I was removed to the shore. Here, however, I found a most hospitable reception at the house of Araby Jellany, a native merchant of Jedda, who acted as the English agent at the port, in the absence of any consul; and such aids, as a quiet room, cooling drinks, and assiduous attention could afford me, I happily enjoyed; but neither medical advice nor medicine of any kind was procurable, so that Nature was left to work out her own course.

I remained at Jedda from the 6th of November 1814 to the 13th of January 1815: a period full of most interesting incidents, during which also I acquired a great deal of new and curious information respecting this portion of Arabia, and the pilgrimages

made to Mecca and Medina; but I refrain from all details, except those which may be said to relate strictly to my personal history and adventures.

Soon after my arrival at the house of Araby Jellany, I was visited by a young Scotsman, a native of Perth, who had come out to Egypt as a drummer in a Scotch regiment at the time of General Frazer's disastrous expedition and defeat at Alexandria. He was then taken prisoner, assigned as a slave of war to a Mameluke chief, was brought up by him, half-converted to Islamism, and at his master's death succeeded to his property, his wives and his slaves, and became a man of substance and authority. He was now known under the name of Othman; and though he preserved all his northern peculiarities of light complexion, sandy hair, and moustaches, freckled face, light-blue eyes, and yellowish eyebrows and eyelashes, his dress, air, and manners were completely those of a Turk. He preserved, however, all his veneration for his native country, and his sympathies for all who came from thence. Nothing could be more kind and attentive than he was to me during my illness; and everything that money, personal exertion, and care could procure for me, was done most cheerfully and efficiently. From Othman I learnt that Mr. Burckhardt, or Sheik Ibrahim, was at

Mecca, and that an English ship from Bombay was then in the harbour, commanded by an English captain. I accordingly desired him to write to Mr. Burckhardt, as I was too ill to do so myself, saying, what pleasure it would give me to see him at Jedda if possible; and to tell his countryman, Captain Boog, that a visit from him would also be most acceptable,—both of which were done without delay.

On the following morning Captain Boog called on me, and pressed me to be taken immediately on board his ship, the Suffeenut-ul-Russool—or Messenger of the Prophet,—a vessel belonging to a Persian merchant in Bombay, named Mohammed Ali, in which he had brought a cargo here, and was waiting to gather up one for India in return. It is impossible to describe the pleasure and relief which this change of domicile gave me. I had a spacious and airy cabin at my command, all the little comforts of European life,—chicken-broth, tea, arrow-root, delicious biscuits, poultry, fish after the English manner of cooking, besides more substantial viands; and the constant and assiduous attention of Captain Boog, his officers, and steward. With such aids, and the current of fresh air blowing through the cabin without exposure to the sun, I rapidly recovered; but such was the exhaustion of my frame from fever and privation, that

I required some kind of food every hour; and taken in small quantities at a time, all was assimilated, and added daily to my strength; while the entertainment of books, chess, backgammon, music, and conversation on topics of mutual interest, made the hours pass rapidly and agreeably, without ever leaving a sense of weariness or ennui.

During this period Mr. Burckhardt came down from Jedda to pay me a visit, and Captain Boog received him aboard his ship, as well as Othman, by whom he was accompanied. As we were here perfectly free from intrusion or interruption, we enjoyed to the full the "feast of reason and the flow of soul;" and the reciprocal recital of our separate adventures passing over a long period of time with each, would have made a good volume of Travellers' Tales. Poor Othman was, however, now and then in difficulty from his scruples of conscience preventing his return to European habits, and a fear of disgracing his Moslem faith. As wine was served at the cabin-table with the dinner, Mr. Burckhardt, though professing to be a Mohammedan, and travelling as such, nevertheless took a glass without hesitation. But Othman at first declined. Being rallied, however, by his brother Moslem, his resistance gave way, and he

took a single glass also. Whether it was the motion of the ship, though at anchor, or the long disuse of wine, or both combined, perhaps, we could not say, but in fact he became sick; and he gravely and seriously attributed this to divine wrath, as a punishment for his infringing the precepts of the Koran! His lingering attachment to his original faith of Christianity was shown, however, in the habit which he maintained of always carrying with him a small pocket-bible, in which were inscribed on the fly-leaf the following lines:—

"J—M—it is my name,
And Scotland is my nation,
Perth, it is my native place,
And Christ is my salvation;"

and he would frequently, in the most *naïve* manner possible, attempt to prove that certain views propounded in the Koran could not be correct, because they were at variance with other views contained in the Gospel; and *vice versâ* that certain doctrines of the New Testament could not be of divine origin, because they were opposed to the doctrines of the Koran.

One of the most amusing exhibitions of this mixed religion, however, was narrated to us by himself as

follows: — It is the custom during the pilgrimage at Mecca, for the coffee-houses there to be much frequented by devotees and theological disputants; and after the news of the day has been told, questions of faith and practice are propounded for consideration. On one occasion, Othman himself felt strongly tempted to show his power in this respect, and, if possible, to puzzle some of the learned doctors. He accordingly, remembering the first question in the Scotch Catechism, with which he was familiar from his youth, demanded of them an answer to the same. The question strictly is in these terms —"What is the chief end of man?" meaning, for what end or purpose was he created, and what is the duty he is intended to perform? Now the Arabic language, more copious than our own, has several meanings attached to the word that corresponds literally with the English term *end*. Our own, it will be remembered, has at least three meanings; one being *end*— purpose, intention, object,—as in Pope — . . .

> "For when success a lover's toils attend,
> Few ask if fraud or force attained his *end*;"

another being the termination of any labour, or ces-

sation of work, both of which are expressed by Denham in the well-known line—

"No *end* of writing books — and to no *end*;"

meaning "no cessation," and "to no purpose;" and a third meaning is, the extremity of any material point,— as the end of a line, the extremity of a rod, the upper or lower end of a statue or a pillar.

It was in this third sense, the most generally used perhaps of all, that Othman translated the question of the Scotch Catechism, making it literally this:— "Which is the principal extremity of man?" To such a question the first response was a loud laugh, at its extreme absurdity; and then a considerable pause; after which, some said the question was not theological, and others that it was not intelligible. One of the grave doctors, however, with an irony the more pointed from the solemnity of his exterior, said he thought he could offer at least a conditional answer to the question, which would be this:—"If the man were a foot soldier, a messenger, or a labourer whose avocations required him to use his legs more than any other portion of his body, his 'chief extremity' would be his feet. If, on the other hand, the man were a pasha, a cadi, a mufti, or a merchant, who laboured most with his brain,

his head would be his chief extremity; but if he belonged to that large class who neither walked much afoot, nor troubled their heads with anything beyond the pleasure of the passing hour, his 'chief extremity' would be found in the centre of his body, as he made more use of his haunches to support his trunk as he sat, than any other portion of his frame." A general peal of laughter accompanied this solution, and Othman wisely resolved never to try his hand upon the Scotch Catechism through the medium of an Arabic translation again.

On the subject of imperfect translation, we heard, while at Jedda, that Araby Jellany had received some copies of the Arabic translation of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures from the agent of the Bible Society at Bombay, to have them put into circulation at Mecca; but the imperfection of the translation had produced the most unfavourable effects, as they were quoted in the coffee-houses as proofs of the ignorance of the authors or translators. One passage of the New Testament, I specially remember,—one of the sayings of Our Lord himself: "Judge not, that ye be not judged," was translated thus: "Be not just to others, lest others should be just to you;" and many passages equally remote from their original meaning besides.

After a short but most agreeable stay with us at Jedda, Mr. Burckhardt left for Mecca to attend the duties of the pilgrimage, and Othman, the Turk, accompanied him. On Christmas-day I received the following letter from Mr. Burckhardt at Mecca, in which the peculiarities of his orthography are preserved :—

Mekke, 11th of Meharrem, 1230.

My dear Sir. —The cabin-boy of the "Rasool" very unexpectedly gave me his "Salam Aleikum" this morning in the bazar; and when I treated him as a runaway, he produced the boatswain and a third comrade to prove that they had all come here with Captain Boog's leave. My judgment was overruled by such respectable witnesses, and as they told me that they intended to return to Jiddé this evening, I thought I might safely trust them with these lines, the purpose of which is merely to tell you that I am well, that the caravan does not move yet, and that I infinitely regret to have lost all this time, since I might else have spent it in yours and Captain Boog's society.

The troops are all here with the Pasha, who is exclusively occupied at present with the transport of provisions to Tay. The horsemen stationed at Tay have made some successful incursions towards the east and south, and brought home about 8,000 sheep; but no battle of consequence has taken place. The Pasha reserves the fame of a doubtful victory to himself.

Among the various nations and sects resorting to Mekke during the Hadji time, is a sect of Indian Musselmins, called Ismayles, men of property, who come from Surat, but whose country is in the interior of the peninsula. They sell here Tornaline, false pearls, China ware, &c. It is well known that they are not true Mohamedans, although they are very strict in the performance of prayers and religious rites, and it is generally supposed that they are pagans. They live altogether, in a large house where they admit no other lodgers. They never bring any females with them, although twenty or thirty arrive here every year, and many have been known to live here for ten years without marrying, which is much against the customs of this country. During my stay in the mountains of the north 1° 00′ of Mount Libanus in Syria, I got acquainted with the sect of Syrian Ismaylees, who likewise profess Mohamedism, but are well known to be pagans, and supposed to adore the "pudenda muliebris;" and I heard it once said, "en passant" in an evening society of Christians at Hamah, that these Ismayles have their principal temple in the East Indies, and send every year by way of Bagdad one of their followers with presents to that holy shrine. The Syrian Ismayles practise yearly feasts to Venus, when they mix in nocturnal embraces with their nearest friends, parents, and relations.

I should be much obliged to you if you would have the kindness, upon your arrival at Bombay, to make some inquiries as to the *sect* and *religion* of these Ismayles, and whether it is known there that they are in relationship with their Syrian brethren. An Indian Ismaylee

might perhaps be prevailed on to make some disclosures to an Englishman which a Syrian Ismaylee would never make to an inhabitant of his country; and to get some true information respecting this singular sect would be extremely interesting.

This is perhaps the last letter you will ever receive from Mekke, and I ought therefore to make it a long one, but I have really nothing to tell you of immediate interest, and the boy comes this moment to ask for this letter. Therefore, farewell, my dear Sir! May your hopes be realised, — may your good fortune enable you to provide for your dear family in Indian climes, and may we once meet again, both satisfied with the result of past time and labour. Wherever fate carries you, remember, I beg you, an honest Swiss, who reckons himself among the most sincere of your friends.

HADJ IBRAHIM.

Give my best compliments to Captain Boog, the memory of whose friendly hospitality and conversation will certainly never be forgotten by me; and if you write to me from Bombay, do not fail to give me of his news.

Remember Rennell's Herodotus, and Seetzen's fate. — [Written in haste, with a reed.]

The last portion of the postscript relates to a promise I made Mr. Burckhardt to send for him at Cairo a copy of Rennell's Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus, and also to inquire into the fate of Dr. Seetzen, the German traveller, supposed

to be poisoned in Yemen, which inquiry I made at Mocha, and sent the results in a communication to the learned Baron von Hammer, the great Orientalist of Berlin, by whom it was published in his well-known work—"Les Mines de l'Orient," about 1816.

I replied to this letter on the following day, but will not trouble the reader further than to say, that among other things I expressed an ardent wish that I could change my occupations and pursuits, which had for their object merely the accumulation of wealth by trade and commerce — in which were many practices that an honourable mind could only consider base and degrading — for the noble pursuit in which he was engaged in the great work of geographical discovery, and the acquisition of knowledge. Thus much is necessary to be premised, to render Mr. Burckhardt's remarks in the following letter, which I received from him on the 5th of January, 1815, intelligible: —

Mekke, Tuesday, 2nd January, 1815.

My dear Sir. — Had I consulted only the warm feelings of gratitude excited within my breast by the kind expressions of friendship, interest, and remembrance, contained in your letter of the 26th of December, I should have answered it forthwith; but as our mental and feeling operations are unfortunately chained down to

our weak frame, the latter often forsakes us at the moment the former most imperiously calls for its aid. And thus it was with me. I have been laid up all last week with a strong diarrhœa, and a slight fever, and was not in a state to guide my pen until yesterday, but then I received peremptory notice to quit my lodgings. I was busy all day in searching for another, and in removing my baggage after I had found it, and it is really not until this morning that I find leisure and repose to converse with you. I am now almost well, and shall be completely so in a few days.

The love of glorious knowledge, and the hate of selfish dealings, which swelled your bosom when you addressed me last, have led you to pronounce too favourable a sentence on my pursuits, and too harsh, too unjust a one on yours. You call them base and degrading! They are not so, my dear Sir. They cannot be base, because they are sanctified by honour, by duty, by parental love, and connubial attachment, — the strongest ties which Nature possesses to bind a generous heart; they are noble, because they are virtuous, their object belongs to those dear beings whose existence is interwoven with yours; and to become, and to have been, the author of their happiness and comforts, will indeed be ever to you a source of sweeter and purer joys than those which fickle Fame bestows with her bounty upon her votaries. That you dislike the means by which your object is to be gained, I readily believe. But consider, I beseech you, that among all the different pursuits which active life points out to aspiring young men, who take virtue for their

guide, not one can be found, the accomplishment of which does not demand a sacrifice of years, passed in struggles against the meanness and selfishness of others. The individual whom you characterise as having for his *sole* object wealth, is met with not only in the mercantile world. You see him pursue his trade through all classes of life, and we unfortunately find that *interest* is the great "mobile" which leads on, not merchants only, but mankind in general, and *that* interest is for the greater part mere *pecuniary* interest, in however different shapes it may present itself. Therefore, relent, Sir. Call *your* pursuits no more base and degrading: I call *mine* so, because they oblige me almost exclusively to mix and live for many years with whatever is infamous, abject, and wretched in human nature, infinitely worse than all your wealth-hunters. Let us both manly work through our way You exert yourself for your own comforts, but still more for the happiness of those whom Nature and your arms have placed nearest to your bosom. I should beguile truth if I was denying that the prospect of ease and comfort has not likewise a considerable share in my exertions. It is true I hope to wrest a wreath from the hands of Fame, but I much doubt whether the possession of that wreath will be productive of as much heart-felt joy and satisfaction to me as will be once to you the endearing thanks and blessings of your family.

I thank you for your ready compliance with my wish about the Ismayles, and I hope your inquiries may lead to some interesting results.

The Pasha still remains here with about 1200 cavalry

and a few hundred infantry, greatly alarmed, and all the soldiers terribly frightened at the news of Tamy's approach from the sea side. The latter probably expected the Pasha already gone from Mekke, in order to attempt a "coup de main" upon Jidda, and I have no doubt will retire when he hears that the Pasha is still here with part of his army; but I am equally sure and confident, that even if at this moment he should be bold enough to approach Jidda, he would oblige the inhabitants to capitulate in a few days for want of water, and the soldiers which the Pasha might send against him would certainly prove cowards, and be easily defeated, so great is the terror in which they hold that terrible Tamy, who killed 600 of them at Gonfodé in April last, and 900 under Abdim Bey in the valleys of Tohran, in October last, stripping the army on both occasions of all money, tents, baggage, &c.

The caravan to Medina is said to depart after four days, I may therefore still flatter myself with an answer to this letter. I have received a letter from Boghoz. On the 1st of October, the great congress opened at Vienna. Buonaparte has lately given a new coin to his Elba subjects with this inscription, — "Napoleon Imperator et Rex ubique felix." He makes quite a laughing-stock of himself, and it is but just that he should make his cotemporaries laugh at present, having so long wailed their tears.

I forget that I owe you and Captain Boog my Christmas and New Year's compliments. But I hope you will permit me to screen myself with Arabick customs,

which are very modest upon this occasion, as well as any other feasts. The only compliment made to the friend of your heart on this festival day, is — "May every year be well with you." In giving to this *well*, the most liberal interpretation, and making it include whatever may be conducive to your and Captain Boog's happiness and comforts, its meaning is explained, and my sense of friendship for you furnishes me with one additional prayer to this sentence only, viz.: — be well, and may your heart always befriend and remember a short acquaintance, it is true, but no less sincere and faithful a friend,

HADJ IBRAHIM.

Do forgive my dirty letter work: my pen and ink belong really to the number of "human miseries."

To this letter also I sent a reply; for intercourse with so agreeable a correspondent was a welcome method of filling up a few hours of the day; but not to intrude unnecessarily on the space required for other topics, I abstain from giving this also, and content myself with transcribing the following, the last letter I received from Mr. Burckhardt during his stay in Arabia: —

Mekke, 9th January, 1815.

MY DEAR SIR. — Your kind favour of last Saturday would have been an antidote against the most inveterate disease, so much it contains of true friendly and benevo-

lent sentiments; it luckily, however, found me already restored to perfect health, and the persuasion of having acquired two new friends' solicitudes, and so much exerted in my behalf, contributes more than any thing else in exhilirating my spirits and keeping them on a level with my projects. Hearing that you should leave Jidda on Friday, I was greatly tempted to bid you a personal adieu, and I am ashamed to confess that the dread of the fatigues of a jackass ride alone prevents me from executing that design. But I shall myself depart from here on Friday with the caravan, and I am afraid that a hasty journey to Jidda and back again, the pleasure of seeing you, and the regret of again parting with you, would cause such a revolution in my blood as to make a relapse of my fever not improbable. Receive, therefore, these lines, my dear Sir, in lieu of the heartiest hand-shake. If a sympathetic feeling, which has seldom misled me, does not prove false in this instance, my heart whispers to me that we shall see each other again, not as at present, to talk of mutual hopes only, but to express our satisfaction at reality.

I may probably remain twenty or thirty days at Medineh. It is only by a prolonged stay that exact information can be acquired in these countries, where every candid question is sure to find a lye for answer. I am dayly correcting now the notes I took down during my first stay at Mekke, and perhaps these corrections and annotations would prove as false as their original text, if I was to remain here another couple of months.

As soon as the news arrived here that the appearance

of Tamy near Gonfodé was a mere trick played off upon the credulity of the Turks, the Pasha left Mekke, and will no doubt immediately attack Taraba. This town is at present quite deserted; all the streets are choked up by rubbish and dirt, and the smell of carrion renders several quarters quite uninhabitable. On the day the Pasha left Mekke, thirty-five camels were reported to have died, and upwards of three hundred have already shared the same fate since the Hadj. The Egyptian Fellah servants kill the camels, in order to get out of employment, and to obtain the permission of returning home; these camel drivers are the principal cause of the Pasha's ill success. The latter will no doubt take Taraba, but want of provisions will soon oblige him to retreat, and the campaign will again close by garrisoning Mekke and Tay only.

If you send from Mocha any letters to Cairo, I would advise you not to address them to Gellany, but to some other merchants at Jidda. Gellany is still extremely jealous of your stay at Jidda; and I am persuaded he would gladly interrupt your correspondence, if he thought thus to embarrass or protract the execution of your projects. Any packet of letters he may receive from Mocha after a couple of months, whether sent by Mr. Forbes or yourself, will always incur the risk of being opened and detained by him.

On Friday, therefore, we shall both start, and we shall probably arrive about the same time, you at Mocha, and myself at Cairo. I do not foresee the possibility of my leaving the latter place again before October; but I may be

detained still longer, as the arrival of the Fezzan caravans is not regular, and I know of no other eligible towards the interior of Africa. If you can work down the Straits and arrive at Bombay before April, I may indulge the hopes of seeing you again at Cairo; but if you are detained by contrary winds at Mocha, our next meeting place can be no other but that blessed Island which concentrates all our wishes and our hopes. May Neptune and Mercury be propitious to you, and guide you into the harbour even before I reach it!

I shall always remain, my dear Sir, with sentiments of the warmest friendship, and the most sincere regard and esteem,

Truly and faithfully yours,

HADJ IBRAHIM.

His anticipations were happily realised; for we subsequently met again at Cairo, on my return to Egypt from India, in the following year; but I must not anticipate, as I shall give an account of my intercourse with him and Mr. Belzoni in the Egyptian capital, in its proper place.

It will be remembered that in his first letter Mr. Burckhardt refers to the sect of the Ismayles, whose original seat is in India; and who though they profess Mohammedanism when it serves their purpose, are believed to be a remnant of the ancient Pagans, who still adhere in secret to the faith of their ancestors.

One of this sect came to Jedda during the present year, and performed all the rites and ceremonies of the pilgrimage at Mecca, after which he returned to Jedda to re-embark for India. It happened, however, that he had run through all his means, and was unable, therefore, to proceed on his voyage; when, with the ingenuity which is characteristic of the fakirs, or mendicant religious orders, of which he was one, he hit upon the following expedient to increase his resources. As a man of unquestioned piety, he obtained permission of the muezzin, or public crier of the principal mosque of Jedda, to accompany him to the galleries of the minaret, and assist with his fine voice in the invitation to prayer, which is given five times a day from all the mosques, in lieu of bells: these being held in abomination by Mohammedans — chiefly, I believe, because they are used by Christians; just as prudish Protestants repudiate all use of the Crucifix, because it is so much used by the Catholics; though the Cross ought to be equally regarded as a symbol of Christianity with both. The invitation to prayer is addressed with a solemn yet pleasing recitative, in the fine sonorous tones of the Arabic language; and literally interpreted, is this: "God is great! God is great! and Mohammed is the Messenger of God! Come to

prayer, come to prayer, for prayer is better than sleep;" and so on, enjoining devotion as a duty with which no other avocation should interfere. The Fakir, however, not content with this profession of faith and invitation to prayer, superadded a petition to the Prophet to send him two suits of garments, two horses well caparisoned, two sets of arms, two young and chaste wives, and two purses of gold. The people in the streets and bazars below, hearing this novelty, gathered in crowds around the foot of the minaret, at each of the usual hours of prayer, till at last the whole town was in a commotion. It was remarked, too, that each day he increased the number of things prayed for; till at last the most religious part of the community was scandalised at this unseemly exhibition. The man was accordingly taken before the Cadi, and questioned as to his conduct. He replied that it was perfectly orthodox: the Koran had declared that whoever should pray, even for temporal blessings, with a firm faith that they would be granted, should obtain them. "Ask, and ye shall receive; persevere, and it shall be granted to you." As a firm believer, therefore, in the truth of this doctrine, he had asked at first for what he actually needed, and no more. But perceiving that the Prophet delayed the grant, he thought it might

arise from his too great humility in not trusting sufficiently to the Divine bounty, and therefore he went on gradually asking for more, being perfectly satisfied that in the end he should obtain all he wished. The Cadi said that the people generally were scandalised at all this; to which the Fakir replied, it was because they were not true believers. An offer was then made to him by some of the wealthy merchants, that if he would desist from this course, they would furnish him to the extent of his first prayer at least. This he indignantly rejected; saying that by so doing he should call Mohammed a false prophet, and brand himself as a liar; because he fully believed he should have all he had asked for, and would not dishonour the bounty of the Prophet by taking less. The Cadi grew angry at this rejection, and began to talk of the prison or the bastinado; when the Fakir, seeing the matter taking a turn he little expected, agreed to accept the offer conditionally, namely, that when he was provided with two suits of garments, two well-caparisoned horses, two sets of arms, two young and chaste wives, and two purses, a certificate should be given that he had not compromised his claim from any doubt of its ultimate realisation, but merely to meet the wishes of others whose faith was not so strong as his own. The

bargain was struck; the Fakir was supplied with the stipulated articles, and returned to India, where he would no doubt exalt both the Prophet and himself, by declaring that his prayers, and faith, and perseverance had obtained him these agreeable proofs of Divine favour!

CHAP. XVIII.

Voyage from Jedda by Loheia and Hodeida to Mocha.—Hydrographical information acquired.—Arrival at Mocha.—Reception at the Residency.—Agreeable party of seven English gentlemen.—Variety of topics of interest to each individual.—Occupations and researches while at Mocha.—Letter to Mr. Burckhardt on the fate of Dr. Seetzen.—Lines adapted to the air, "Go where Glory waits thee."—Peculiarities at Mocha.—Head-dresses of the Samaulies.—Abstinence from coffee, and substitute of ghasheb.—Anecdote of an Indian Princess.—English tea.—Visit to the port of Aden.—Letter to Mr. Forbes.—Call at the Arabian port of Macullah.—Singular disease and deaths among the crew.—Influence of the Moon at sea.—Pythagoras and Moore.—Safe arrival in the harbour of Bombay.

We left Jedda on the 14th of January, and proceeded down the Red Sea on our way to Mocha; and as we had a considerable portion of contrary winds, we had to stand across the sea from the Arabian to the Abyssinian coast, which afforded a favourable opportunity for acquiring all the hydrographical knowledge I so much desired. I profited by this to amass a large quantity of materials, in bearings and distances of capes and headlands, soundings on the coast, views of

harbours, and observations of latitudes and longitudes sufficient to fill an ordinary volume. There were some incidents of general interest also on the voyage: but these I pass over, and simply record that after passing close to the two ports in the mountains near which the genuine coffee of Arabia is grown, namely Hodeida and Lohcia, both to the northward of Mocha, we reached this last-named place on the 2nd of February 1815.

On landing, I repaired with Captain Boog to the British Residency, and was there presented to the East India Company's representative, Mr. Theodore Forbes, of the Bombay Civil Service, by whom I was most kindly received; and though among my papers lost by the storm, described in the previous chapter, just before reaching Jedda, were my letters of introduction to this gentleman from Colonel Missett, their loss made no difference in the warmth of his hospitality; and I was invited to remain with him at the Residency as long as our ship should remain in port. At dinner, which was served in the Anglo-Indian style, with abundance of excellent dishes, including curries of various kinds, cool claret wine, and hookahs after the meal, a party of seven English gentlemen met together, the greatest number of my countrymen that I had seen at any one time since leaving Smyrna,

and a very unusual number for so remote a station as Mocha. Among these were General Wilkinson, late commander in chief of the army in Bombay, a veteran King's officer, who had seen much service, and whose simplicity of dress and manners were remarkable for a man of his rank and position; Captain Blast, of the Indian Navy or Bombay Marine, commanding the Company's ship *Mercury*, bound for Suez to convey General Wilkinson thus far; the surgeon of the ship; Mr. Aikin, the medical officer of the Residency; Mr. Forbes, Captain Boog, and myself. It was curious to observe, how the personal interests of each directed the topics of our conversation. Mr. Forbes, being himself a diplomatist, was most anxious to be informed of the latest news connected with the politics of Europe, having received no newspapers for many months; General Wilkinson was desirous of knowing everything connected with the mode of travelling across the Desert, and the chances of conveyance from Alexandria to some port of Europe. Captain Blast attached more importance to the account I was enabled to give him of the winds, tides, shoals, soundings, &c. on the upper part of the Red Sea, which was new to him, and the dangers of which had been much dwelt upon by his brother officers in Bombay. Dr. Aikin and the surgeon of

the *Mercury* were curious in their inquiries about the plague, the season of its development and of its disappearance, the remedies usually prescribed, and their results; while Captain Bŏog and myself were eager to obtain from each and all of these the best information they could give us of the state of commerce in India, and the probable reception which any proposition for reviving the Egyptian trade would meet with there. We sat up till long past midnight, and had a day of the highest enjoyment.

Our stay at Mocha extended to the 10th of February; and during this period every day was devoted to excursions through the town and its neighbourhood, including a visit to the Dola, or governor; horses of the purest Arab breed being placed at our disposal for daily use. Much information was thus acquired respecting the history and commerce of this part of Arabia, the Yemen of the modern maps, and the Arabia Felix, or Happy Arabia, of antiquity,—a distinction it well deserves, from its superior fertility and the richness and variety of its products. But these details cannot be dwelt on farther here. A letter of mine to Mr. Burckhardt, of which I preserved a copy, may, however, be transcribed from my Manuscript Journal, as containing the information I promised to obtain for him respecting the fate of Dr. Seetzen, the

German traveller, and which I have reason to believe is but little known in England. It is as follows:—

Mocha, February 9. 1815.

My dear Friend. — Short as our stay here has yet been, it was among the first duties to which I devoted myself, after our arrival here, to execute as satisfactorily as possible the wish you expressed to me on parting, relative to the fate of Doctor Seetzen, of whose death I have been unfortunately too successful in obtaining a decided confirmation.

There is now at Mocha, a Doctor Aikin, attached to the British Factory, in the service of the East India Company, who having been here upwards of five years, enjoyed much intercourse with Doctor Seetzen during his short repose here, and was in company with him on the evening preceding his departure from hence. It is from this gentleman that I have received such particulars as I have the unpleasant task of now communicating to you.

It appears, then, that this able and enterprising traveller, after having completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and, like yourself, obtained the enviable distinction of a Hadji, had traversed the greater part of the Hedjaz; and entering the Yemen, came through Sana and the other principal towns to this extremity of Arabia, bringing with him the spoils which his intrepidity alone had gained him, in botanical, mineralogical, and other specimens of natural history. Like the collection of Niebuhr, it had scarcely entered the gates of Mocha, before it was seized by the rapacious Dola, under the hope of its containing

immense treasures; but finding himself miserably disappointed in their apparent value, as if to avenge himself for it, by securing at least their loss to the proprietor, he caused them all to be conveyed to the Imaum at Sana, under a pretext of their being intended for the exercise of magic and incantations! They were accordingly confiscated, and for ever lost to the owner of them, who seemed only stimulated thereby to greater undertakings.

During Doctor Seetzen's stay at Mocha, he invariably bore the character of a Mussulman Dervish, under the name of Hadji Moosa; nor does it appear that he was known to any of the natives as an European, — his long beard, general aspect, and proficiency in the Arabic language occasioning him to pass unsuspected as a Mohammedan of Syria. Nor did he ever visit the European Factories; although Captain Rudland, who had been in Abyssinia with Mr. Salt, being then the East India Company's agent here, paid him every attention; his constant residence, indeed, was in the common caravanseraï for travellers.

It was the general opinion of the best informed people at Cairo who at all interested themselves on this head, that Doctor Seetzen had met his death in Africa, in some war among the negroes near Berbera; but it is confidently asserted here that he did not cross over to the opposite coast. After some stay at Mocha, wasted in ineffectual endeavours to obtain a restoration of his seized specimens, he formed the determination of re-visiting Sana in person, and journeying from thence to the eastern extremity of the Peninsula of Arabia, to cross from Muscat

into Persia. For this purpose he set out from hence in the month of October, 1811, having with him a number of camels (to the amount of fourteen, my informers say,) laden with baggage, provisions, &c. He had not quitted Mocha three days, however, before information was received here of his sudden death near Tais, and the consequent dispersion of all his property. No doubt seems to be entertained even by the Arabs themselves, that he was poisoned by some agent of the Dola in his party, with the connivance, or perhaps by the express orders, of the Imaum, to wrench from him the last mite he possessed.

Beyond this, nothing further is positively known as to the detail of his sufferings; but the fact of his having died a sudden and violent death seems unhappily to be removed beyond all doubt. Before he quitted Mocha, he confided to the care of Signor Benzoni, an Italian here, all his valuable papers, journals, &c., which he had congratulated himself on securing from the destroying grasp of rapacious ignorance, to be forwarded by that gentleman through Egypt, to his distinguished patron, the Duke of Saxe Gotha, in Europe. It fell, however, to the lot of poor Benzoni himself to close his checquered existence here; and the only manner in which he could acquit himself of his trust was to transfer the charge of his murdered friend's discoveries to the Hindoo broker of the East India Company, the chief of the Banians here, from whom they were soon afterwards seized by the Dola, and are now, I fear, for ever lost to the lovers of knowledge, and the patrons of its extension, who would have doubt-

less otherwise found in them information of the most valuable and interesting nature.

Such, my dear Ibrahim, has been the unmerited, though not I am sure unpitied, fate of one who, like yourself, was engaged in the noblest of all pursuits, — the acquisition of knowledge for the improvement and further civilisation of mankind. In Major Rennell's admirable work, which I have sent you at your request, you will find an apostrophe to the memory of those who are thus the victims of an ardent thirst for information, which will convey to you all the sensations to which my own heart is alive upon the present occasion, and into which I am sure yours will easily enter. May the path which you have already formed the determination to pursue, be less beset with dangers, and your passage through it crowned with that success, which is indeed so indisputably your due!

As I fear I shall not have time to write Signor M'Ardle on this subject, although I faithfully promised him to do so if possible, you will oblige me infinitely by communicating the particulars of my letter to him, as he represents himself to be officially charged by the Duke of Saxe Gotha and the Emperor of Germany, — Doctor Seetzen's distinguished patrons,— to furnish the Court of Vienna with the most accurate information he could obtain relative to the fate of this martyred traveller. You mentioned to me, also, if my memory does not mislead me, before we parted at Jedda, your intention of transmitting such accounts as I could collect on this head to the Director of "Lès Mines d'Orient," at that capital, for insertion in that widely circulated work, as being a

channel through which it would be conveyed to that class of readers chiefly who would feel an interest in the event. Should you retain that intention, you are at perfect liberty to use my name as an authority on the occasion; though I could wish that it might undergo your own arrangement as to the form in which it should be transmitted, from my being so pressed at this moment as scarcely to find time for a re-perusal before I seal it for enclosure to you.

It is now past midnight, and I am engaged for a daylight ride to-morrow, after which we return to breakfast with General Wilkinson and Captain Blast, for whom I have yet some notes of introduction to write, and to whose kindness I shall be indebted for the conveyance of this, as they sail for Suez to-morrow morning. I cannot close, however, without detaining myself for a moment to assure you that you have been often the subject of our evening conversations on board, during our passage down the Sea, and that for myself, I have counted your daily journies, and traced your progress across the sterile deserts of the Hedjaz, with an anxiety for your safety that could only have been dictated by the warmest and most sincere friendship. I suppose you to be at this moment within the sacred enclosures of Medina, and imagine that you will reach Egypt about the time of my disembarkation in India. But, my friend, however widely we may be separated, it cannot in the least diminish either the force or truth of my esteem.

JAS. S. BUCKINGHAM.

By the same opportunity I addressed several letters to friends in Egypt, Smyrna, Malta, and England; and as I was now farther distant than I had ever before been in all my wanderings, from this land of my home, where those I most fondly loved were, no doubt, anxiously awaiting intelligence of my progress, my communications to them were more copious than to any others. In the one to my dear wife I enclosed the following lines, adapted to one of her most favourite airs from Moore's Melodies, and as an answer to that beautiful composition, which had been enclosed to me in her last letter from home.

AIR — GO WHERE GLORY WAITS THEE.

I.

Fate may from thee tear me,
And o'er Ocean bear me,
  Yet I'll remember thee;
Distant climes while ranging,
Still with love unchanging,
  Oh! I'll remember thee.
Hostile foes may press me,
Dangers sore distress me,
Yet if thou shalt bless me
  With tried fidelity;
Then, whate'er awaits me,
While that hope elates me,
  Oh! I'll remember thee.

II.

At eve, in silence musing,
Heaven's bright vault perusing,
Then I'll remember thee.
The star thou lovest blazing,
On its radiance gazing,
Oh! I'll remember thee:
Should its rays, wide streaming,
On thy couch be beaming,
And thou perchance be dreaming
In that hour of me,
The thought with bliss will fire me,
And while joys inspire me,
Oh! I'll remember thee.

III.

When my eyelids closing
Sink in sleep reposing,
I'll still remember thee;
Borne in dewy slumbers
To the spheric numbers,
There I'll remember thee;
'Mid their mystic wheeling,
While o'er every feeling,
Music's powers are stealing
In heavenly harmony;
Then shall Memory bring me
Strains thou used to sing me,
And I'll remember thee.

I may add two peculiarities of Mocha which struck me as unexpected novelties at the time. One is this. The Samaulies, as they are called, who visit Mocha from the Abyssinian coast opposite Bab-el-Mandeb, are a fine race of Africans, jet-black in colour, but of beautiful muscular development, equal to anything seen in the Greek statues of the best times, rarely under six feet in height; and with arms, legs, and ample chests befitting the character of Hercules rather than of Apollo. Their features, like those of Abyssinians generally, are not flat, nor their lips thick and protruding like those of the negroes; while the facial angle is as acute as that of the European. Their hair is not woolly, but full and bushy, unlike the lank black hair of the Indian races; and this hair, with a taste more singular than admirable, they contrive to have cut so as to stand like an inverted pyramid on the crown of the head, it being supported in that state by wooden skewers serving as props, by the common people, and ivory or silver ones among the chiefs. This mass of hair, thus unnaturally cut into so preposterous a shape, like the evergreen trees in some country gardens in England, clipped into the forms of cocks and hens, and other grotesque shapes, is also thickly plastered with grease, for pomatum, and powdered with white lime dust instead of flour. All

this seemed supremely barbarous and ridiculous at first view, till checked by the reflection that the time is not very remote when a tax on hair-powder was very productive in England, and that even now artificial wigs are worn by the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Judges in full costume, made of horse-hair, and having no resemblance whatever to any natural head of hair; while the livery servants of the great are still plastered and powdered, as the common soldiers of our army once were to their infinite disgust and torture, when pipe-clayed breeches dried on their thighs, belts and stocks impeded their free breathing, and clubs and queus were so tightly fastened behind their heads as to make it difficult to turn more than an inch in any direction: these recollections made me think that the Samaulies were not so uncivilised and barbarous, after all.

The other peculiarity I noticed at Mocha was this: though it is the chief port for the shipment of coffee, this berry is not grown there, but produced in the mountains near Hodeida and Loheia, more than a hundred miles off; and further, none of the inhabitants of Mocha drink the roasted and pounded berry which constitutes our coffee at all. Large quantities are shipped for India, America, and Egypt, by way of Suez, it being preferred by the Turks, not

only on account of its superiority, but because it comes from the Holy Land of their Prophet. But none is consumed in Mocha, where the people think it heating, irritating, and unwholesome. The drink they use instead is a decoction of the outer thin shell or husk in which the coffee-berry is enclosed. This they called *Ghasheb;* and when some was presented to us at the interview with the governor, and we were led to expect something extremely agreeable, as an Arabian sherbet, I was disgusted beyond measure with the taste and smell of this Mocha dainty, which resembled, more nearly than anything I can remember, a mixture of glauber's salts and senna tea, of a lukewarm temperature.

To show the force of habit, however, in reconciling people to the most revolting things, as *caviare* to the Russians, putrid raw fish to the Kamschatkans, and tobacco to all races of men, who persevere, through sickness and nausea, till they conquer their first disgust at it, I may mention the following anecdote: There was on board the *Suffenut-ul-Russool,* as passenger, an Indian Nawaub, or prince, with his family and suite, who had been on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and were now returning home. The favourite female of the harem, the youngest and handsomest, it was said, of the whole party, was dreadfully sea-

sick; and as all the Orientals have a very lofty idea of the medical skill of Europeans, I was consulted as to the proper remedy. I thought it a good opportunity to see the lady, if possible, and said that no prescription could be safely given, without feeling her pulse, seeing her tongue, and examining the condition of her eyes. This was thought perfectly inadmissible, and was refused. She became gradually worse; and at length, after various excuses and contrivances to elude a complete exposure of her face, by putting her arm through a curtain, and showing her tongue and her eyes only through holes in a thick veil, all of which were declared to be insufficient, her whole face and person was shown, and her claims to great beauty, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances in which she was then placed, could not be questioned. As to the prescription, seeing that there was nothing the matter but the ordinary sickness of the sea, which I knew of no medicine that would cure, I prescribed a hot cup of tea. We had on board some exquisite tea from Canton, called "The Emperor's bloom," composed, it was said, of the first pickings of the early shoots of the tea-tree, and never used, therefore, in commerce, but obtained as presents only; there was also white sugar candy, and fresh goat's-milk, to complete the

preparation. Such a cup of tea many a dowager in England would go a long way to procure; and when I tasted it, to satisfy her scruples, previous to the lady taking it herself, I thought it the most delicious tea I had ever drunk. She put it to her mouth with an evident expectation of pleasure from the draught, but my own disgust at the Dolah's *Ghasheb* was not more complete than that of this Indian princess at the tea; for, in a paroxysm of rage, and an expression of horror which I could never have thought so beautiful a face could ever be made to wear, she flung cup, saucer, and spoon on the deck, and asked me whether I meant to poison her with so revolting a mixture as that! After this, one may well admit the truth of the adage—"There is no disputing matters of taste."

On the 10th of February we left Mocha, determined to make an experiment which all deemed hazardous, and many thought desperate,—namely, that of beating through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb with a contrary wind. We had a good ship, that stood well under her canvas, sailed fairly for a merchant vessel, and answered her helm quickly. The captain and officers were thorough-bred seamen; the lascars or Indians expert in their evolutions, and sufficiently numerous; and by a bold attempt, and constant

vigilance, we completely succeeded. As we took the narrowest passage on the eastern side, between Perim Island and the Arabian shore, to avoid the set of the current towards the Abyssinian coast, our reaches on each tack were sometimes less than a quarter of a mile, so that we had scarcely got full way on the vessel, and all sails trimmed on one tack, before it became necessary to go about again on the other; and if we had once missed stays, we had little or no room either to ware or to fill again, so that we ran great risk of going on the rocks. It was a time of breathless anxiety; but when we got through we gave relief to our feelings by a loud and general cheer.

At length we reached the port of Aden, a perfect furnace of heat, even in this winter season, and like the scorched crater of a volcano in its blackened rocks all around. It was a port of great celebrity in the middle ages, when the Venetians traded to India by this route, before the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, and is now in the possession of the English as a station for the steamers between Suez and Bombay. We landed for a few hours, but found little to interest us; and from thence I addressed a letter to Mr. Theodore Forbes at Mocha, which, as it gives a faithful account of my feelings

and occupations at the time, may be here transcribed: —

Aden, in Arabia, February 22. 1815.

My dear Sir. — Whether it be that one is anxious to avoid the opprobrium of ingratitude as one of the foulest stains upon the moral character, or that one's consciousness of the general indifference of mankind to their benefactors, suggests the fear of being one's self subject to so frequently justifiable a suspicion, I know not, — but ever since I quitted your hospitable roof, I have felt an impatience, which I would fain attribute to purer causes than those premised, to seize the earliest occasion which might present itself of assuring you how truly sensible I am of the obligations which I owe to your kind interest in the fate of a humble individual known to you only by self-introduction, and bringing to you no other recommendation than his poverty, his disappointments, and his wants. It is not, like many of our other aphorisms are, a sentence void of meaning, to say that "Generous actions carry in themselves their own reward." My own heart has more than once confirmed to me its truth, and yours, I doubt not, often yields to you the most agreeable recollections. May they continue to throw a charm over the latest moments of your life!

Our passage through the Straits was not without its difficulties; but we have fully proved its practicability against a contrary monsoon, with a good ship and attentive management. The tides afforded us essential assistance in getting through, and we have found their influences to

prevail with some slight variations all along the shore to Aden. Mr. Bruce's inaccurate descriptions of Bab-el-Mandeb, Perim Island, and the neighbourhood, are certainly the most decisive evidences of his never having visited the spot; since a person writing even from memory, could never fall into such gross misrepresentations; yet he repeatedly asserts that it was his constant practice to write his observations on the spot for the purpose of ensuring their fidelity. Lord Valentia has not, therefore, accused him of falsehood in this instance, as well as in many others, without great reason.

We have yet the prospect of a long voyage before us from the prevalence of the easterly winds, and nothing but the continuity of my occupation on board could prevent its being a weary one. As it is, however, some sad moments will intervene to disturb the tranquillity of my mind amidst its labours, by recalling to my imagination the images of my distant, and perhaps suffering, family, and contrasting it with the procrastination of my hopes from day to day, and the uncertainty of their being even at last accomplished. It is to chase reflection, and to banish from me as far as possible ideas so full of gloom, that almost every moment of the day has its peculiar portion of employment allotted to it and even when on deck, to take the necessary exercise for health, my attention is amply occupied with such particulars as may tend to facilitate the future navigation of this coast.

It is thus that rising at daylight, my morning hours are devoted to the study of the Hindoostanee language, under the tuition of a young East Indian lad on board, in which I derive considerable assistance from the excellent

Grammar and Dictionary of Gilchrist, with which you obligingly furnished me for that purpose, as well as from what previous knowledge of Arabic I possessed, that language and Persian seeming to enter largely into the composition of it. The day, from breakfast until dinner, is not more than barely sufficient for that attention to the navigation of the coast and other general remarks on our voyage, which the subject not only of itself deserves, but which under my peculiar prospects devolves upon me as a duty. A sunset walk succeeds, and as the Nawhub is always of our party, we wear away the evening by a game at chess.

Such, my dear Sir, is the epitome of my occupations at sea. When they are relieved, as they are now, by an occasional visit to the shore, it yields me a gratification in which I forget for a moment all my sorrows; and in the present instance it is rendered still higher by its offering to me an opportunity to assure you of my gratitude.

JAS. S. BUCKINGHAM.

On leaving Aden, our passage along the southern coast of Arabia was slow and tedious, owing to the great prevalence of easterly winds, and the set of a strong current in a westerly direction. We experienced now and then, when the land wind blew off the shore, soon after sunrise, the refreshing odours of

"——— those spicy gales
That blow from Araby the blest;"

the morning dew being evaporated by the early warmth of the sun, and so diffused through the whole atmosphere that it becomes "redolent of balm," and like Lebanon, as described by Solomon in the Canticles, "puts forth a goodly smell." But generally speaking, the mountains near the coast are barren, and the chief fertility is in the valleys of the interior. We found Horsburgh's Directory of the Indian Seas more accurate than any other authority for this coast; and passing several of its smaller ports, we arrived at Macullah on the 5th of March.

We went on shore, were introduced to the governor by some Indian Banians or merchants there, who had commercial relations with Bombay, saw all the town and its inhabitants, learnt a great deal connected with the trade of this part of Arabia, and of the condition of the tribes in the interior, as well as of the piracies committed by the Joassamees and Wahabees along the coast. After filling up our supply of water, and getting some fresh provisions, we sailed from hence for Bombay. In the course of this latter portion of our voyage, a singular disease broke out amongst the Indian lascars composing the crew. It commenced with the swelling of the legs, passing gradually upward by the thighs to the trunk, and then invading the arms, neck, and head; it was not

attended with any acute pain, but rendered its victims stiff and incapable of action. It invariably ended in the death of those attacked, after a course of six or seven days, and was confined exclusively to the Indians, no European being affected by it. We buried in the deep no less than sixteen men in about as many days, from this singular affection; and when we reached Bombay, we learnt from the maritime and medical men there, that this was a disease well known in East India ships. It was pretty well ascertained that it arose from the want of the stimulants, in the shape of curry powder, pepper, and spices, of which the Indians use so much in their cooking, and which, in our case, had all been exhausted soon after leaving Mocha; and as fresh vegetables and fruits, with lime juice and acids, appear to be the most effective remedy for scurvy, which in olden times carried hundreds of seamen to premature graves, so it appears that stimulating condiments for those who live chiefly on rice, and rarely take animal food, as is the case with lascars or Indian sailors, is the best preservative against this gradual swelling which ends in speedy death.

I have often had occasion to remark on the intense interest with which a brilliant moon is regarded during the profound stillness of the night, in the

midwatch, when all around is silent, and the sea a glassy calm, reflecting on its boundless surface all the glory of the heavens above. We had several such nights on our passage across the Arabian Sea; and the feeling that loved ones at a distance would be gazing on the same brilliant orb, within a few hours after it had passed its meridian here, naturally inspired the wish to be able to write on its surface some lines of affectionate assurance, that they were remembered, and to receive back a similar report of their own feelings towards us. Pythagoras was thought by the ancients to possess a magic mirror, by which he could inscribe on the surface of the moon his thoughts and feelings to be conveyed to distant lands, which is thus beautifully alluded to by Moore in his Epistle to Lord Strangford, written off the Azores, in the Atlantic Ocean, on his voyage to Bermuda.

"Sweet Moon! if, like Crotona's sage,
By any spell my hand could dare
To make thy disk its ample page,
And write my thoughts, my wishes there,
How many a friend, whose careless eye
Now wanders o'er that starry sky,
Should smile, upon thy orb to meet
The recollection kind and sweet,

The reveries of fond regret,
The promise never to forget,
And all my heart and soul would send
To many a dear loved distant friend."

The feeling has no doubt been experienced by thousands; but poetic genius has here embodied it in a form which will find an echo in every heart that has ever crossed the Desert, or traversed the Ocean; for it is in these vast solitudes of Nature that the moon exerts her greatest influence, and becomes, if not the object of adoration, at least the magnet of attraction, and the chief glory of the scene.

We did not reach Bombay till the 6th of April, having left Mocha on the 13th of February,—a voyage, therefore, of six weeks, which is now sufficient to complete the double voyage from Bombay to Suez, and Alexandria to Southampton, by the steamers used on this Red Sea and Mediterranean route;—and no fact can place the advantage of the change in a more prominent point of view than this.

CHAP. XIX.

Entrance to the noble harbour of Bombay.—Inquiries of Commercial Houses and their results. — Private acquaintances speedily formed. — Domesticated with intelligent and agreeable friends.—Competition of Hindoo and Chinese agriculturists.—Remarkable English women in Bombay. — Hospitality and gaieties of general society. — Excursions to the Cavern Temples of the Hindoos.—Caves of Elephanta, Carli, and Kenneri. — Basaltic pillars. — Geological Explorers.— Adventures with Tigers in the Island of Salsette. — Lines addressed to my Wife with the rose-dew of Egypt.

THE entrance to Bombay is very imposing. On the right or south side of the passage, is the continent of India; and in the background, trending away to the north-east, rise the noble hills called the Ghauts, which form the buttresses or bulwarks of the higher land beyond them. On the left is the small low island of Colabah, with its light-house, closely connected with the nearly level island of Bombay, and this again joined by a causeway to the larger and more hilly island of Salsette. The ample expanse of water between these islands on the left, and the Mahratta coast on the right, presents a harbour capacious enough to shelter the whole navy of

England, while the several smaller islands dotting its surface, including that of Elephanta with its celebrated Cave Temple, form objects of picturesque beauty, and afford good shelter as breakwaters against the strongest gales. The soundings are of convenient depths, the holding ground good; and the strong ebb and flood tides, rising eighteen and twenty feet perpendicular, facilitate the entrance and exit of ships in all winds and all weathers. No harbour in the world, perhaps, is better entitled than this to the original name given it by its first European possessors, the Portuguese, of "Bon Baia," or Good Bay, from whence the present name of Bombay is formed.

Anchoring among the large Indiamen and China ships here assembled, we soon after landed at the Fort-stairs; and as there were at that time no hotels or even boarding houses for Europeans, though many of each kind now exist, I repaired with Captain Boog to the bungalow taken for him by his agent, and remained there a day or two till I had made my calls.

Remembering the names of the houses of business, as well as private individuals, to which I had received letters of introduction from Egypt (the originals of which were all lost by the capsising of our vessel in the Red Sea), I called on these first, and was delighted to find that duplicates of the letters had been for-

warded to them from Egypt overland, by Aleppo, Bagdad, and Bussorah, in the Persian Gulf, so that my reception was most cordial from each, especially from Mr. Leckie, a wealthy merchant, just then about to return to Europe with a large fortune, but still retaining an interest in the concern of which he had been for many years the head,—from Mr. Remington, Mr. Crawford, and Mr. Stephenson, of the house of Remington and Co.,—from Mr. John Stewart and Mr. William Ashburner, the managing partners of the house of Forbes and Co., and several others.

My first business with all these was that of inducing them to enter on the trade with Egypt by the Red Sea; but I found, in every instance, so great a distrust in the good faith of Mohammed Ali Pasha, whose antecedents were certainly anything but encouraging, that, though all were of opinion that such a trade would be extremely profitable, if reliance could be placed on the honesty and moderation of the ruler of Egypt, none were inclined to risk an expedition in that direction till these doubts were removed.

I next delivered my letters to private individuals of the Civil Service, furnished me by Mr. Theodore Forbes of Mocha; and the issue of these was more fortunate. One of them was to Mr. William Erskine,

who filled the office of Judge in one of the Courts of Law in Bombay. This gentleman had come out to India with Sir James Mackintosh, when he received the appointment of Recorder, and subsequently married one of Sir James's daughters. Mr. Erskine, who followed the profession of the law in Edinburgh as Writer to the Signet before he came to India, was one of the original founders of the *Edinburgh Review*, with Brougham, Jeffrey, Horner, and Sidney Smith; and enjoyed, therefore, a high reputation in Bombay. By this gentleman I was most cordially received, and invited to take up my abode with him at Mazagong, one of the suburbs of the town.

Nothing could be more fortunate for me than this first step, as it brought me almost immediately into personal intercourse with the *élite* of Bombay society —a privilege extremely difficult to obtain in India, where the Civil Service constitutes a caste of aristocracy, within whose barriers the military officers are only sparingly admitted, except those of the highest rank, merchants only of the first class, and merchant-captains and traders never. On repairing to the house and taking up my quarters in the apartments assigned to me, we met at dinner at the usual hour of seven o'clock; and though our first party consisted only of the inmates of the house, who lived

together under one roof, though not connected by any ties of relationship, but allied by taste, sentiment, and friendly feeling, they were all men of mark, from their learning, ability, and courtesy. Mr. Erskine, the senior, was about forty, full of information on every subject connected with the philosophy and literature of Europe, besides being a good Oriental scholar, and occupying his leisure in writing papers of great ability for the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, as well as in translating from the Turki language, through the medium of Persian, the original and remarkable History, or rather Autobiography, of the Emperor Baber, the first of the Moguls who conquered Hindoostan, who was born A.D. 1456,—one of the most faithful pictures of Oriental life, perhaps, ever presented to the European world. It was subsequently published by Longman and Co., of London, as a quarto volume, in 1826. The early portion of the work had been translated by Dr. Leyden, also a great Orientalist, and friend and countryman of Mr. Erskine, who met a premature death in Java; but the latter portion was completed by this gentleman. It was appropriately dedicated to the Honourable Mount Stuart Elphinstone, then the British Resident at the Court of Poona, and sent from Bombay for publication in

April 1816, just a year after my first visit to Bombay, though not published till 1826; owing, no doubt, to the difficulty of getting any English publisher to undertake such a work, though a more interesting one does not exist in the English language. Mr. Erskine was, as may be readily supposed, one of the most agreeable of companions; and I may truly say, I have never met, before or since, with any man presenting so remarkable a union of extensive and varied information, the most pleasing mode of communicating it, and the utmost degree of humility and modesty in his bearing towards all who were his inferiors in this respect.

The other gentlemen of the household were Mr. Wedderburn, from Edinburgh, who filled the office of Paymaster General; a person also of extensive reading, most liberal views, and pleasing manners, with a degree of generosity that scarcely knew any bounds. Mr. Henderson, also from Scotland, one of the assistant secretaries to Government, more reserved in utterance, but speaking always wisely and to the purpose; and Mr. Elliott, the youngest of the party, related, I believe, to the Minto family, of joyous temperament, buoyant spirits, infinite good nature, and exuberant gaiety. To me, who had so long been deprived of the pleasures of general society, this was

almost a perfect elysium, wanting, indeed, only the charm of female presence and attractions to make it completely so. As time passed on, however, the sphere of my acquaintance gradually widened; for almost every day I was either taken to be introduced to some family, or persons called to pay their respects to me. Among the most remarkable of these were Mr. Macklin, the Attorney-general, an Irishman, all heart, eloquence, and enthusiasm; Mr. Luke Ashburner and his accomplished wife, from Salsette; Dr. Scott, the head of the medical board, and his scientific lady; Mr. Warden, the chief secretary to Government, and his fashionable and agreeable partner; Colonels Protheroe and Baker of the Bombay army; Captain Dickinson of the Engineers, from Salsette, with his charming family; Mr. and Mrs. John Stewart, of Forbes and Co., who gave the most agreeable parties at their villa, near Malabar Point; and from these leading stars, as they might be called, of the fashionable world, to other less eminent, but not less agreeable circles.

Among some of my most vivid recollections of Bombay life at this period, a few deserve selection for record here. Mr. Luke Ashburner was a man of independent fortune, not in the service of the East India Company, deeply impressed with the injustice

and absurdity of its monopoly, and anxious, as far as his means admitted, to improve the cultivation of India, for which purpose he had taken estates in the island of Salsette. As an experiment, by which to compare the labour of the Chinese and the Hindoos in agriculture, he had procured from Canton a body of Chinese peasants, thoroughly acquainted with all the processes of husbandry in their own country; and of these he formed a separate colony in Salsette, giving them charge of a certain tract of land on which to cultivate rice, sugar, and cotton, after their own mode. On a neighbouring estate he planted a similar number of Hindoos, to follow their usual course; and he made their wages to depend on the success of their separate experiments, of which they were indeed to reap a portion of the benefit, on the principle of co-operative labour. I saw both these colonies, and visited them frequently. Each was well provided with everything necessary for their experiment and for their comfort. But the result was, that the superior sagacity, energy, and industry of the Chinese were manifest in all their operations; while the habitual tardiness of the Hindoos, with the large abstraction from their time for religious festivals and daily ceremonies in their pagodas, left them greatly in the rear. Mr. Ashburner met, however,

with so many obstructions to his benevolent plans from the East India Company's government, who wished to discourage colonisation in every shape, that on the death of his wife he ultimately gave up his estates and went to America, where he resided many years at Stockbridge, with the Sedgewicks, so well known for their literary fame in the United States, and where he ended his days a few years ago.

Mrs. Luke Ashburner was a remarkable woman. She was the daughter of a Unitarian minister in Norfolk, named Morgan; and, excepting perhaps her brother, who was settled as an attorney in Bombay, was the only Unitarian in all the English society there; so that she was avoided by some as without the pale of Christianity; but her fine Roman beauty and dignity, her almost angelic benevolence, and her superior talents, drew around her the choice spirits of both sexes. When Mr. Erskine wrote his elaborate and learned Essay on the Caves of Elephanta, for the Bombay Literary Society, Mrs. Ashburner was the only artist that could be found to furnish the illustrations, which she did in a series of beautiful drawings of all the principal groups of sculpture in the interior, to which she devoted some months with a zeal that was untiring, and these drawings were engraved for the Transactions of that learned body.

Mrs. Stewart, too, the wife of the chief member of the Medical Board, was another of the remarkable women of Bombay. It had long been matter of dispute whether the Arabs were the original inventors or discoverers of Algebra, which seems to be an Arabic name; or whether it was known to any Eastern nations from whom the Arabs might have borrowed it. A recent discovery had revived this question, and seemed to fix the discovery or invention on the Hindoos. In one of the libraries of Benares, attached to a very ancient observatory, founded there many centuries ago, was found an original Treatise on Algebra, in the Sanscrit language. The most eminent Sanscrit scholar then in Bombay was Dr. Taylor, who was afterwards the Company's resident at Bussorah; but though he was competent to translate the Sanscrit text, he was wholly ignorant of mathematics and algebra, and was consequently incompetent to do the work justice. In this dilemma, Mrs. Stewart, who was a good Sancrit scholar and a first-rate mathematician, gave her assistance to the learned Doctor, and through their joint efforts the work was translated complete. I may add that Dr. Stewart had fitted up, at great expense, on the roof of his own house, an observatory for his wife's amusement; and her astronomical ob-

servations made through this medium were transmitted to the astronomer royal in England, and thought worthy of his use and thanks.

The dinners, balls, and concerts it were endless to recite. It seemed to me that with all the complaints of exile from home, and heat, and mosquitoes, and many other grievances, great and small, which one occasionally heard from some querulous complainer in every party, there was no place under the sun that I had ever yet visited, where the art of enjoying the present was so fully understood and practised as it was here; and though the Bombay civil and military servants were continually complaining of the higher pay and allowances enjoyed by those of Bengal, their really greatest misfortune was that they were so well paid as to be presented with few inducements to economy, and lived "too fast" either for their health or their early retirement from the service; the youngest writers and cadets keeping their palanquins, bearers, gigs, saddle horses, and servants, on a scale of 1000*l.* a year, while receiving perhaps salaries of 500*l.* or 600*l.*, and thinking nothing of being 4000*l.* or 5000*l.* in debt in the first few years of their service. The pale ale and cool claret consumed at dinner and supper would surprise most Europeans;

while the champagne drank at public balls and private parties seemed to have no limits.

During my stay in Bombay I made several excursions to places of considerable interest in the neighbourhood, especially to the Cave of Elephanta, in the harbour of Bombay, which is one of the wonders of the eastern world, though still I believe greatly inferior in extent and richness of sculpture to the caves of Ellora in the interior. I visited also the caves of Kenneri and Carli, in the island of Salsette; the two latter being regarded as Boodhist works, while the former is held to be Brahminical. Another very agreeable excursion was to the north-west extremity of the island of Salsette, where there are clusters of basaltic pillars, scarcely inferior in size and number to the Giants' Causeway in Ireland, and the cave of Fingal in the island of Staffa, in Scotland. These visits were rendered all the more agreeable from the party accompanying me containing many excellent geologists, who came armed with hammers and chisels for striking off specimens, and servants with strong bags to convey them. On all sides were heard debates about the respective theories of Werner, the Neptunist, as he was called, because he attributed most of the geological formations to the agency of water; and of Hutton, the Vulcanist, as he was

named, because he thought the element of fire had been most potent. Primitive rocks, igneous formations, primary, secondary, and tertiary deposits, mica, feldspar and hornblende, greywacke, schist, oolite, lias, cleavage, dip to the horizon, cropping out, and other phrases peculiar to the science, were in their mouths as "household words," and they seemed to revel in their enjoyment. The fact is, geology was just then in high fashion; and the passion for it had been greatly fed by a recent visit of Captain Basil Hall, of the Navy, whose father, Sir James Hall, was an eminent geologist; and the *Edinburgh Review*, the great oracle of taste here, had contributed largely to encourage the study of the earth's crust, its composition, and the changes to which it had been subject. Mr. Stephen Babington, one of the Bombay Civil servants, universally beloved and esteemed, and his brother Benjamin, of the Madras Civil Service here, on his way to England — sons of Dr. Babington of London, for many years Professor of Mineralogy at Guy's Hospital—were always of these parties, and contributed much, by their superior intelligence and agreeable manners, to render them delightful. Mr. Stephen Babington subsequently lost his life while endeavouring to rescue some victims from a fire in Bombay, and a statue was

reared, by public subscription, to his memory. Mr. Benjamin Babington soon after became the companion of my voyage to Egypt, as will be shown in the sequel; and is now the well-known Dr. Babington of London, Curator of the Royal College of Physicians, enjoying in an unusual degree the esteem and respect of the medical profession, and I may add with pride, a fast and faithful friend of mine of now forty years' standing.

Among the personal adventures which happened to me in Bombay, two or three may be selected from a multitude, to be given here. On one occasion I went to dine and pass the evening with Captain Dickinson, of the Bombay Engineers, in Salsette. The house in which he resided at Gora Bunder, on the narrow arm of the sea, which divides Salsette from the Mahratta coast, had been a Catholic convent in the time of the Portuguese dominion. It was seated on an elevated rock, for the double enjoyment of pure and cool air and a fine prospect, and evinced the good taste of its founders. The ascent to it was by a long flight of steps cut in the steep sides of the rock itself. After dinner, the company retired to the drawing room for music; and whether the sweet sounds of the voices and instruments combined, or the glare of light from the doors and windows, all of which were opened for

air in the usual Indian fashion, or whether the scent of so much flesh and blood congregated in a small space, formed the chief attraction, we could not of course decide. But, just as some of the party had commenced a vocal quartett, the ayah, or Indian nurse, came running in with the greatest affright, dragging a little child after her, and exclaiming, "A tiger on the steps! a tiger on the steps!" On rushing to the outer door, two immense tigers were seen stealthily creeping up the flight of steps with noiseless feet and crouching bodies; and we were only just in time to slam the glass-door in the very face of one, who, in a moment more of time, would have had some victim in his jaws, carrying him or her off in triumph (as young Hector Munro was seized by a tiger, while in a picnic party at the Island of Saugor, and killed before the very eyes of his companions.) It caused a chill and shudder to run through all the party; and it was not till the tigers had both disappeared that harmony was restored.

A still narrower escape for myself individually happened on another occasion, not long after this. I had gone to dine in Salsette with Colonel Hunt, the governor of the Fort of Tannah, about seven or eight miles from Bombay; and as I had an appointment at home in the morning, and the night was remarkably

fine, with a brilliant moonlight, I declined the hospitable invitation of my host and hostess to remain with them during the night; and ordering my palanquin to be ready at ten o'clock, I left Tannah at that hour for Bombay. Great portion of the way was over a level plain of some extent; and while we were in the midst of this, the bearers, of whom there were eight, four to carry, and four for a relay, with two mussauljees, or lantern-bearers, who carry their lights in the moonlight as well as in the dark, as a matter of etiquette which it is thought disrespectful to omit—in short, the whole party of ten in an instant disappeared, scattering themselves in all directions, and each running at his utmost speed. I was perfectly astonished at this sudden halt, and wholly unable to conjecture its cause, and all my calling and remonstrance was in vain. In casting my eyes behind the palanquin, however, I saw, to my horror and dismay, a huge tiger, in full career towards me, with his tail almost perpendicular, and with a growl that indicated too distinctly the intense satisfaction with which he anticipated a savoury morsel for his hunger. There was not a moment to lose, or even to deliberate. To get out of the palanquin, and try to escape, would be running into the jaws of certain death. To remain within was the only alternative. The palan-

quin is an oblong chest or box, about six feet long, two feet broad, and two feet high. It has four short legs for resting it on the ground, three or four inches only above the soil. Its bottom and sides are flat, and its top is gently convex to carry off the rain. By a pole projecting from the centre of each end, the bearers carry it on their shoulders, and the occupant lies stretched along upon a thin mattress on an open cane bottom, like a couch or bed, with a pillow beneath his head. The mode of entering and leaving the palanquin is through a square opening in each side, which, when the sun or rain requires it, may be closed by a sliding door; this is usually composed of Venetian blinds to allow light and air, in a wooden frame, and may be fastened, if needed, by a small brass hook and eye. Everything about the palanquin, however, is made as light as possible, to lessen the labour of the bearers; and there is no part of the panelling or sides more than half an inch thick, if so much.

All I could do, therefore, was, in the shortest possible space of time to close the two sliding doors, and lie along on my back. I had often heard that if you can suspend your breath, and put on the semblance of being dead, the most ferocious of wild beasts

will leave you. I attempted this, by holding my breath as long as possible, and remaining as still as a recumbent statue. But I found it of no avail. The doors were hardly closed before the tiger was close alongside, and his smelling and snorting was horrible. He first butted one of the sides with his head, and as there was no resistance on the other, the palanquin went over on its beam ends, and lay perfectly flat, with its cane-bottom presented to the tiger's view. Through this, and the mattress, heated no doubt by my lying on it, the odour of the living flesh came out stronger than through the wood, and the snuffing and smelling were repeated with increased strength. I certainly expected every moment that, with a powerful blow of one of his paws, he would break in some part of the palanquin, and drag me out for his devouring. But another butting of the head against the bottom of the palanquin rolled it over on its convex top, and then it rocked to and fro like a cradle. All this while I was obliged, of course, to turn my body with the revolutions of the palanquin itself; and every time I moved, I dreaded lest it should provoke some fresh aggression. The beast, however, wanting sagacity, did not use his powerful paw as I expected; and, giving it up in despair, set up a hideous howl of disappointment,

and slinked off in the direction from whence he came. I rejoiced, as may be well imagined, at the cessation of all sound and smell to indicate his presence; but it was a full quarter of an hour before I had courage to open one of the side doors, and put my head out to see whether he was gone or not. Happily he had entirely disappeared, and I was infinitely relieved.

The next course to be considered was, whether I should get out and walk to Bombay, a distance of four miles, now near midnight, or whether I should again close my doors and remain where I was. I deemed this the safest plan, and remained accordingly; when, about half an hour beyond midnight, all my bearers returned, with several peons or foot soldiers, and muskets, pistols, lances, and sabres, enough to capture and kill a dozen tigers; but these were too late to be of any use. They made many apologies for leaving me, but said that as one of them would have been certain of being seized by the tiger if they remained, and no one could say which, they thought it best that all should try at least to escape, and I readily forgave them; after which, they bore me home, with more than usual alacrity, and I enjoyed my repose all the more sweetly for the danger I had escaped.

A ship being about to depart for England, I was occupied for some days in writing long and numerous letters to friends there; and with those to my own family, I forwarded the following lines, referring to an incident mentioned in a previous chapter (p. 171.) during my wanderings in Egypt:—

TO MY BEST BELOVED, WITH A VASE OF EGYPTIAN ROSE-DEW.

I.

When late my wandering steps were borne
Along the banks of Nile's green vale,
Oft as I drank the breath of morn
That floated on its humid gale,
The wild rose, rich in vernal bloom,
Bending beneath its purest dew,
Breathed fresher sweetness of perfume
Than Art's distilling power e'er knew.

II.

Amid its rich unpencilled hues
Were seen, but oh! with fainter glow,
The blushes Love could once transfuse
O'er thy chaste bosom's swelling snow,
While studded thus with lovelier pearl
Than Selim's favourite Georgian wears;
Like thee it shone, dear absent girl,
In brighter beauty through its tears.

III.

When trembling on thy lids of light,
As twin-born stars, I've seen them rise,
Blending, like these fair orbs o'er night,
Brilliance and softness in thine eyes;
How have I wished that chymic Art
Could give their drops a crystalled form,
That I might wear them near my heart,
For ever bright, for ever warm.*

IV.

But since the prayer was breathed in vain,
As starting from their feeling source,
Proud Science self could forge no chain
To bind them in their trickling course,
Gathering from Arsinoe's fair flower
The gems its bud at morning wears,
I fondly stored the heaven-wept shower,
As emblems of thy purer tears.

V.

Long near my heart this vase I've worn,
Accustomed ever to receive
My earliest kiss at smiling morn,
My latest sigh at blushing eve;
And every dew-drop there that fell,
Formed, as it swelled the odorous store,
A stronger charm, a sweeter spell,
To bind it to that heart still more.

* Rogers.

VI.

Nor wonder that when every gleam
Which brightened life and love had flown,
A vase like this could feed the dream
That cheered my path while wandering 'lone;
For it had been my silent guide
O'er deserts wild, o'er mountains hoar,
O'er rocks that rise in savage pride,
And bounding streams, and cataracts' roar.

VII.

Yes! e'en amid the ruined piles
That hallow old Ægyptus' flood,
Beneath whose giant-pillared aisles,
Transfixed with silent awe I've stood;
Lost in the dreams of ancient lore,
And wildered in its mystic maze,
This simple vase possessed the power
A dearer, stronger charm to raise.

VIII.

Go! then, companion of my way,
Round smiling Hope's high Southern Horn*,
Go! to exhale thy sweets away,
Upon a fairer bosom borne;
And if that bosom's rising swell
Shall greet thy first warm pressure there,
Dear and complete will be the spell
That hung on Love's remembered tear!

* One of the early names of the Cape of Good Hope.

CHAP. XX.

Mercantile want of confidence in the Egyptian Pasha. — Relinquishment of the Red Sea trade for the present.—Appointment to the command of an Arab frigate, the *Humayoon Shah*, for a voyage to China.—Information given against me to the Solicitor-General. — Visits to the Chief Secretary and the Governor.—Wish of Sir Evan Nepean to make me an American. — Absurdity and injustice of the licensing system. — Causes of this singular and unjust legislature.—Correspondence with the Bombay Government.—Refusal to allow me to remain in India. — Example of punishment without due cause.—Permission at length given to return to Egypt.—Heavy pecuniary losses sustained thereby.

DURING all the round of pleasure which I enjoyed from the hospitality and kindness of my numerous friends, the special object of my visit to Bombay was never forgotten; but I still found such reluctance among the British merchants there to trust anything to the honour of Mohammed Ali Pasha, without a fixed treaty that should ensure them protection and light duties on their commerce, that it was vain to persevere further in any attempt to induce them to enter, for the present at least, on the Egyptian trade by way of the Red Sea. I therefore

thought it my duty to look about for some employment here, and soon obtained it.

Among the native merchants to whom I had been introduced by the friends with whom I was residing, was a Persian, named Mohammed Ali Khan, who was agent for the Imaum of Muscat, and from him I received an appointment to the command of a new frigate belonging to that Arab prince, which had just been built at the Portuguese port of Damaun, to the north of Bombay, and had arrived here to be fitted out for a voyage to China on the Imaum's account. This vessel, named after one of the Mogul emperors, the *Humayoon Shah*, was about 1200 tons, built of teak, pierced for forty-four guns, and as handsome and substantial as any ship of her class in the British navy. Such a command was peculiarly acceptable to me, and promised to be very lucrative, as great privileges in the way of freight and passage money were accorded to me by the Imaum, in addition to a very handsome salary as fixed pay. I received therefore, with pleasure, my official appointment from his agent, Mohammed Ali Khan, and took up my quarters on board, for the purpose of fitting the ship out for her voyage.

This piece of good fortune had attracted not merely the notice but the envy of several maritime officers,

who had made application for the command and been rejected; and one of these, who had been offered the appointment of chief officer, having learnt by some means that I had not the East India Company's license to visit India, made a formal report of this circumstance to the Solicitor-General of the Company, who, by virtue of his office, is in every such case bound to inform the Governor, and take his instructions on the case. This gentleman, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Stephenson, was one of those whose private hospitalities I had enjoyed, and he felt great mortification at being obliged to notice officially the information given him. He very politely sent for me at once, in order, first, to be assured of the fact from my own admission, and next, to explain the imperative necessity under which he was placed of reporting the matter to the Governor, Sir Evan Nepean,—assuring me, however, that he would do this in the most favourable manner, in order to obtain, if possible, the Governor's permission for me to proceed on my voyage. He advised me also to wait on the Chief Secretary, Mr. Francis Warden, at whose table I had been often a welcome guest, to enlist his influence with Sir Evan on my behalf. This I did, and Mr. Warden was as cordial in his assurance of doing his best to serve me as the Solicitor himself.

A few days after this I received an invitation to breakfast with the Governor; and being always of a sanguine and hopeful disposition, I began to augur most favourably from such an event. I repaired to the Governor's house, therefore, with great alacrity, and found Sir Evan quite alone. He received me with great politeness, being "a gentleman of the old school," remarkable for his dignified bearing and polished manners, which his long career as chief secretary to the Admiralty under a Tory government in England, would sufficiently account for. He inquired with great interest about my travels, the state of Egypt, the navigability of the Red Sea, and other kindred topics; and towards the close of our interview, he said to me, "Mr. Buckingham, were you never taken to be an American?" I answered that I had no remembrance of such a thing. He continued—"But you look as much like an American as like an Englishman." To which I replied, that as both sprung from the same stock, the difference must be very slight between them as a people, however much particular individuals might differ; but having been in America, and noticed the physical peculiarities of its inhabitants, I did not think it likely that I should ever be taken to be an American by those who were familiar with both countries.

"Nevertheless," he added, "having, as you say, been in America, you might the more readily pass for one if you chose." I said, "Very possible; but I could not conceive any motive which could induce me so to do. I was born and brought up an Englishman, and I wished so to continue."—"Oh, very well," rejoined Sir Evan, "if you will *not* be an American, I cannot, of course, make you one." After this, visitors began to drop in, and I took my leave, wondering within myself what could have been the drift of the singular conversation that had passed between us.

On mentioning this circumstance to my friends, I learnt, to my great surprise, that if I had confessed myself to be an American, the license of the East India Company would no longer have been necessary to enable me to visit India, and remain in it as long as I thought proper; and the same would have been the case had I been a Frenchman, Dutchman, Spaniard, or a native of any other foreign country; the license was required for Englishmen alone, and all others were free. This appeared to me, upon the face of it, to be so absurd, as well as unjust, that I could not believe it till it was confirmed to me by the testimony of the Solicitor-General himself; who said that the evident wish and in-

tention of Sir Evan Nepean, by the questions he had pressed on me, was a desire to escape from the painful necessity of ordering my banishment, by getting me to avail myself of this legal exemption, in confessing myself to be an American, and therefore needing no license to be in the Company's dominions; and several foreigners, including two American missionaries, were named to me as then residing in Bombay, without any license whatever, and who could not be legally removed.

The cause of this anomaly was this:—The British Government, in granting a charter of exclusive trade to India and China to the East India Company, gave the Company power, by this charter, to expel from their dominions all British-born subjects who had not their license to reside there, this being deemed necessary to protect them, in their monopoly, from the competition of "interlopers," as they were called, who might undersell them in their own markets. But though the British Government might thus condemn all the twenty millions of their own native-born subjects to this state of ignominous dependence on the will and pleasure or caprice of a mere handful of monopolists—a body of some twenty-four directors only,—in whose hands the power of granting licenses and banishing those who

did not possess them, rested,—it could not authorise the exercise of such powers against the natives of any foreign state, without subjecting the country to a retaliation from those states in the same manner, which might easily lead to a war. In point of fact, therefore, the case stood thus: that all foreigners, who had no natural claim on India as a part of their dominions, might visit it freely, and reside and trade in it as long as they pleased, without license from its rulers; while British-born subjects, who had contributed, by their payment of taxes, to support the very Government that made this charter, and who, as the conquest of India had been made by British blood and British treasure, and was still held under British tenure and the British flag, might fairly regard it as a portion of the British dominions,—these, who would seem to have the fairest right to visit it freely, were unjustly excluded—in short, all foreigners were there freemen, and free-born Englishmen alone were slaves! There was yet another anomaly. In the case of an Englishman settled in India, marrying an English wife, and having children by her, their issue, born in lawful wedlock, would be subject to the license-law, and to banishment, if their licenses were withdrawn; but if the same Englishman, instead of

marrying, had children by an Indian concubine, the illegitimate offspring would be free from the license system, and could not be banished like the lawfully-born.

On the 10th of May, about a fortnight after my appointment to the command of the *Humayoon Shah*, I received the following letter from the Solicitor-General.

To Mr. Buckingham.

Sir, — I have received the orders of Government, to call upon you to give security to proceed to England in such ship and at such time as may be appointed by Government, it being understood that you have no license or authority to remain in India.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
J. H. Stephenson,
May 10. 1815. Company's Solicitor.

The meaning of the phrase "in such ship and at such time as may be appointed by Government," as it occurs in the preceding letter, requires explanation. It refers to what is called "a charter-party passage," meaning that the Indian Government have the power of sending all unlicensed Englishmen back to England by one of their own vessels, paying to the com-

mander 10*l.* sterling for his passage, which entitles him to a hammock among the seamen, and salt beef and biscuit for his fare (the ordinary rate of a cabin passage being 100*l.*); and the captain of the Indiaman taking such passengers, is bound to give assurance that he will not permit them to land anywhere between India and England, lest they should escape back again to the territory from which they were banished! Such were the provisions of the British Legislature, which professes to honour and encourage the pursuits of commerce! The remainder of the correspondence passing between myself and the Bombay Government will be given *seriatim*, and will sufficiently explain itself.

To Francis Warden, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government.

SIR, — Having been called upon by Mr. J. H. Stephenson, the Honourable Company's Solicitor, to give security for my proceeding to England in such ship and at such time as may be appointed by Government, it being understood that I am provided with no license or authority to remain in India, I beg leave to lay before you a brief outline of the peculiar circumstances which led to my visiting this country, both with a view to account for my being unprovided with such license, as well as to ground a hope of receiving the indulgence allowed to be exercised by the Government in granting special

licences until the pleasure of the Court of Directors shall be known, as explained in the new Act of 53 Geo. 3. cap. 155. sec. 37.

In the month of April, 1813, before the new Act came into force, I sailed from Portsmouth for the Mediterranean, in company with the *Stirling Castle*, on board of which Lord Moira was embarked for India, and proceeded from thence to Malta, with the intention of settling there; but being prevented from landing by the existence of the plague, I was compelled to proceed on to Smyrna, and soon afterwards to visit Egypt, where a mission to this country was proposed to me for the purpose of forming a commercial connexion between the most respectable British house in Alexandria and Cairo, and the mercantile establishment of Mr. John Leckie of this place.

After a considerable sacrifice of time and money, I quitted Egypt on a voyage to Bombay, under the immediate patronage of Colonel Missett, the British Resident, and Mr. Peter Lee, the British Consul there, by both of whom I was furnished with letters of introduction and recommendation, it being unknown to them as well as to myself at that time what were likely to be the restrictive clauses in the new Charter, which had not then reached that country; and the general anticipation being that former obstructions as to visiting India would be removed, and greater facilities granted by it to the industry and honourable views of such of his Majesty's subjects as might be disposed to engage in the trade of the East, particularly through channels like that of the Red Sea, which, if not occupied by British subjects, would in times

of peace inevitably fall into the hands of foreign merchants.

On my arrival here, my first endeavours were to ascertain what were the necessary steps to be taken to avoid the slightest suspicion of my intentions being clandestine. when I accordingly reported myself personally to Mr. Goodwin, the Superintendent of Police, and by him was taken to the Right Honourable the Governor, to whom I disclosed with frankness the train of circumstances which led to my voyage, and the object it had in view.

It has unfortunately happened that from the great length of my passage down the Red Sea, my arrival here was at a moment when some general commercial changes, as well as alterations in the private views of Mr. Leckie, to whom I came particularly addressed, had induced him to abandon his first intentions, so that I remained here, almost without any positively determined object, until under these circumstances an offer has been made to me, on certain conditions, by Mohammed Ali Khan, the agent of the Imaum of Muscat, of the command of one of his vessels, destined for the China trade,—a station for which I am qualified by nearly seven years' experience, as chief officer and commander of different British ships to America, the West Indies, and the Mediterranean.

As, then, Sir, a long train of expenditure, losses, and disappointments have rendered me incapable of returning to England immediately, without absolute ruin to all my prospects, and without involving also the want and suffering of a dependent family,—since, too, I have neither deserted the service of his Majesty, nor of the Honourable

Company, nor have the remotest intention of interfering with their exclusive privileges—nor belong at all to the description of persons against which the restrictive clauses of the Act seem chiefly to be directed—nor have manifested the most distant wish to evade the orders of Government—I have to beg that you will solicit for me the indulgence of a special licence to remain in India, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors shall be known, according to the power vested in the local governments by the 37th section of the Act before alluded to, in order to enable me to accept the employment thus offered to me in the service of the Imaum of Muscat, whose maritime commands cannot, perhaps, be more advantageously disposed of for the interests of Great Britain than by being placed in the hands of her own subjects, rather than those of France or other foreign Powers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Bombay, May 12. 1815.

To Mr. Buckingham.

SIR, — In reply to your letter dated the 12th instant, I am directed to inform you that the Right Honourable the Governor in Council cannot, consistently with a due attention to the instructions of the Honourable the Court of Directors, accede to your application to be permitted to remain in India until their pleasure shall be known.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F. WARDEN,
Chief Secretary to Government.

Bombay, May 17. 1815.

This conduct of the British Government, in refusing even an appeal to the India Directors at home, appeared, even to the Persian agent of the Imaum, Mohammed Ali Khan, so cruel and tyrannical, though accustomed from his youth upward to live under a despotic sovereign, that he expressed his astonishment and indignation in unmeasured terms; and declared, that whoever might command the *Humayoon Shah* in my absence, should hold the appointment conditionally only, and that if I succeeded in obtaining leave to return again to India, I should be reinstated in the command, — a promise he faithfully performed, as will be seen in the sequel. I then addressed a last appeal to the Governor, as follows:

To the Right Honourable Sir Evan Nepean, Bart., President and Governor in Council, Bombay.

Right Honourable Sir, — I have had the honour to receive, in a letter from the Chief Secretary, dated the 17th instant, information that the Right Honourable the Governor in Council could not, consistently with a due attention to the instructions of the Honourable Court of Directors, accede to my application to be permitted to remain in India until their pleasure should be known.

When I addressed the Government through its Chief Secretary, in my letter of the 12th instant, in answer to the Honourable Company's Solicitor's demand of a security for my returning to England, and stated the grounds on which I ventured to hope for the indulgence of my being suffered to remain here until the pleasure of the Court of Directors upon my case should be known, I was

induced to believe that such indulgence, from the nature of the circumstances under which it was solicited, would not have been denied to me.

On a reference to the new Charter, the first time of my seeing which has been since my arrival in this country, I am more and more confirmed in my hopes that your Right Honourable Board will yet, on reconsidering my case, conceive it to be one of those which were in the contemplation of the British Legislature, when the provisionary clauses of its last Act were framed. — You will pardon me, therefore, Right Honourable Sir, if, induced by the anxiety natural to my situation, I take the liberty of bringing before you an extract from it, in the words of the Act itself.

"Provided nevertheless, that any Governor General, or Governor, of the said Presidencies, for extraordinary reasons to be entered upon the Minutes of Council, may authorise, by special licence, the residence of any subject of his Majesty in any place or places under the government of such Presidency, until the pleasure of the said Court of Directors shall be known in their behalf; and that such special licence shall be deemed and taken to be of the same force and effect as a licence of and from the said Court of Directors, until notice of the pleasure of the said Court to the contrary shall have been given to such person, by delivery thereof to such person, or by leaving the same at his last place of abode, or by publication thereof in the Gazette of the Presidency by which such special licence shall have been granted: provided that a copy of such licence, and of the reasons for granting the same, accompanied with an application for a licence from the said Court of Directors, shall be transmitted to the said Court of Directors forthwith after the granting thereof." 53 Geo. 3. cap. 155. sec. 37.

Had it not been in the contemplation of the British

Parliament that cases might arise in which the individual being found in India without a licence, might be blameless, and worthy of receiving a special one from the local governments, until the reasons for his being so unprovided and a statement of his case could be known to the Honourable Court of Directors at home, no such clause as the one just quoted could have been necessary. I have ventured to presume that my own is a case of that description, and I am not without a hope that your Honourable Board may still be induced to regard it in that light.

Having quitted England before the new Act for the regulation of Indian affairs had become law, and without having at that time the remotest intention of visiting India, my departure from England without such licence is perfectly accounted for. At the same time, such facilities are granted by the New Charter for all unobjectionable persons obtaining licences, that it can scarcely be doubted but that an application for that purpose would easily procure one, as will be seen by a reference to the thirty-third section of the said Charter.

My original determination to visit this country was not even formed until I was already midway between Great Britain and her Eastern possessions, and was then brought about by a series of losses and disappointments which compelled me to seek for some immediate employment; and undertaken for the accomplishment of a particular object, without a view to fixed residence, and in the contemplation of a temporary stay only for that purpose.

That object has, however, been defeated, by the length

of my voyage, and consequent lateness of my arrival; a voyage, in the course of which, besides the sufferings and sacrifices that I have sustained on the way, the small portion of what remained from my ruinous losses—all arising from a plague which no human prudence could foresee, no human skill avert, — has been altogether expended.

But for the generous assistance of Colonel Missett, the British Resident in Egypt, my voyage from that country to Bombay could not have been undertaken; and I am unwilling to suppose that such a man, so long holding a public situation connected with the Company's service, and who has acquitted himself of its duties with so much credit to himself, and satisfaction to his Honourable Employers, would have patronised me in an undertaking which he believed to be at all improper, or likely to interfere in the remotest way with the Honourable Company's interests.

Finding myself disappointed in the particular object for which I visited this country, and on which I rested all my future hopes of independence, I naturally looked around me for such means of procuring an honourable subsistence as might offer themselves to the industry and qualifications of any honest man. Experienced in my own profession, I sought no other favour than the power of exercising it for the maintenance of myself and my family, for whom I have been two years labouring in vain. The testimonies which I was enabled to produce of my capacity, and the number of my recommendatory letters, procured for me, and fortunately too as I then thought, the offer of the command of a new ship in the

China trade, belonging to the Imaum of Muscat, a service for which a knowledge of the Arabic language, acquired during my stay in Egypt and Arabia, had still more particularly qualified me.

The rejection, on the part of Government, of my application for permission to hold the command of this ship, belonging to the independent prince of a country (Arabia) to which British subjects can go without any licence whatsoever (being out of the Company's limits), will, if persisted in, oblige me to abandon the only hope that remains of recovering the serious losses which I have incurred by unforeseen and inevitable calamities, of placing me in a situation to meet the claims existing against me as a husband and a father, and of enabling me again to fill my station as a useful and honourable member of society.

It is not for me, Right Honourable Sir, to offer an opinion on the nature of the *private instructions* of the Honourable Company, on which the refusal to accede to my request is grounded; but surely it cannot be denied that it is a case of peculiar, I would almost say, incredible hardship, after having travelled through countries universally deemed barbarous and savage, and meeting in them kindness, hospitality, and liberal treatment, to find, on my treading on what I looked forward to as at least a friendly shore, and mixing again with my native countrymen, all my hopes of protection and encouragement on that account entirely destroyed.

Through all my travels hitherto, the circumstance of my being an Englishman has obtained for me facilities,

honours, and distinctions; until, on my arrival here, where it would have been expected that such a privilege would have operated still more powerfully in my favour, I regret to find that the very circumstance of my being an Englishman is the heaviest charge which can be laid to my account. Had I been a Frenchman, an American, or even a Turk, seeking refuge among foreigners and strangers, I should have been unmolested in my labours and pursuits, and permitted to remain in any part of British India; but, simply because I am a British subject, a title which on all other occasions is the best and proudest claim to indulgence and favour, I am rendered liable to penalties, to hardships, and even ruin, for daring to be found in British territories, and that too, without my being considered guilty of any crime, without even the imputation of a fault!

It is well known that Arab ships, throughout the Eastern seas, are often commanded by Frenchmen, as well as by Americans, who have, in such situations, acquired a knowledge of the local navigation, which has fitted them for the boldest enterprises in privateers, and enabled them to do extensive injury to our commerce thereby. Indeed, from the ignorance of the native captains, no Arab ship is sent upon a voyage of any difficulty without an European commander; and it must be evident, on national and politically commercial grounds, how important it is to secure these commands in the hands of British rather than of foreign mariners, for the double purpose of increasing the respectability and influence of the British character with all the Native Powers of the East, and of

preventing the subjects of nations always likely, sooner or later, to become our enemies, from holding stations which will often enable them to counteract us, and give them opportunities of acquiring such information as may be of the highest importance to the prosecution of their designs.

I have reached this country through toils and dangers, fatigue and expenditure, no small portion of which has been incurred and suffered in the prosecution of researches, honourable, I hope, to the undertaker of them; beneficial, I would fain believe, to mankind; and likely to be of service perhaps to my country; circumstances which, of themselves, are in every other nation admitted as claims to some indulgent considerations on the individual's behalf.

I have found a station suited to my capacity and my wishes, one which I hope I am qualified to fill with credit to myself, satisfaction to my employers, and advantage to British interests; and in that station I am desirous of honestly employing my industry and my skill. It cannot be, surely, that because I am unfortunate, when I am selected as worthy of an employment in which these misfortunes may be ameliorated, and when I am desirous of avoiding all offence either to private interests, or to public laws, by industriously earning a subsistence, that I should be thought to deserve to suffer all the loss of time, and painful mortification of a charter-party voyage, after which I should be placed on shore in England to return to my family after two years' toils and absence, with disappointed hopes, with broken spirits, and with empty

hands? I still trust, that the justice, if not the liberality, of the Government will deliver me from such a calamity.

In a situation of such inexpressible anxiety, and threatening such ruin to all my prospects, I shall be excused by the very nature of the dilemma to which I now find myself reduced, if I claim some merit from my share in the prosecution of those plans for extending our knowledge of foreign lands, which have been considered as forming one of the peculiar glories of the present reign. When I had what I deemed the good fortune to extend my journey above the cataracts of the Nile, in a tract hitherto but little visited and imperfectly described, I did imagine, when affording my contribution towards African discovery, (an object which had been encouraged with such eagerness and at such expense by the most eminent of our statesmen, and particularly by the distinguished nobleman who now presides over the British empire in India,) that I had perhaps established some slight claims to the countenance of my countrymen in Asia.

Had there been the slightest existing cause for the exertion of the power of transporting me to England, from the discovery of any *thing* dishonourable or improper in my conduct or my views, or could I believe that my removal from hence would be of the remotest benefit to mankind or to my country, I should have submitted without a murmur to the laws that banished me; but, conscious as I am that my views are as laudable as my conduct is irreproachable, and that my removal would plunge innocent and deserving beings into almost irretrievable misery, without benefiting a single individual,

I am still willing to believe, from the known liberality of the Government here, that it will yet see reason to refrain from carrying so harsh, and, to me, so ruinous, a measure into execution.

Permit me then again, Right Honourable Sir, to throw myself on your notice, entreating you yet to consider whether my case be not one of those for which the British Parliament has made provision by the thirty-seventh section of its Act, in enabling the local governments to exercise their discretion thereon; and whether my present removal to England can be of the slightest private or public benefit; since, as my character is unobjectionable, and my purposes lawful, my claim may be expected there to be heard and granted at last, according to the provisions made for that purpose in the thirty-third section of the Act already referred to.

In the mean time, permit me to state, that I am not only willing, but extremely desirous, that the circumstances of my case on which I ground my hopes of indulgence, should be laid before the Honourable Court of Directors for their opinion and pleasure thereon; and that I shall be prepared to accompany a representation of it, with such references to the most respectable merchants in London, as shall prove to them the truth of my statement, and establish the purity of my character and reputation; under all which considerations, I cannot but continue to indulge a hope that one of the great objects of the New Charter to encourage the labours of upright and honourable British subjects in India, will not be defeated, by refusing me the power to exercise my

own industry for the maintenance of myself and my family, and that your Honourable Board will yet see reason to permit my continuance in a command, from which both private and public benefits might accrue, without the probability of its being productive of a single evil.

In the event of my being permitted to remain in India until an application can be made on my behalf at home for a licence from the Honourable Court, I shall of course be prepared to give the requisite securities for a compliance with their decision, in quitting the limits of their territories immediately on my receiving their orders so to do.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Bombay, May 26. 1815.

To Mr. Buckingham.

Judicial Department.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 26th instant, and to inform you that the Right Honourable the Governor in Council can see no better grounds for permitting you to remain in India until an application can be made for a licence from the Honourable Court of Directors, than in favour of any other individual who may think fit to come to this Presidency without the permission of the Honourable Court, and that the Governor in Council cannot, therefore, res-

cind the orders which have been issued for ensuring your return to England.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F. WARDEN,
Chief Secretary to Government.

Bombay, June 1. 1815.

To Francis Warden, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

SIR, — I have had the honour to receive your letter, dated the 1st instant, containing the rejection of my application for a special licence from the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, and continuing the former orders of the Government for my removal.

Submitting, therefore, to such decision on my case, I beg leave to state my intention of quitting India as speedily as possible.

Disappointed as I have been in my hopes of accomplishing the secondary object of my entering into the Imaum's maritime service, I am desirous of returning to Egypt by way of the Red Sea and Suez, from whence I came, for the purpose of closing my concerns in that country.

As every moment's delay will be of material consequence to my own affairs, as well as inimical to the wish of the Government for my speedy departure; and as no opportunities can offer direct from hence to the Red Sea, until the return of the fair monsoon, or for several months hence, while from Bengal vessels are constantly departing, I have to beg that you will solicit for me the per-

mission of the Honourable Board to seize the first opportunity of going round to Bengal, for the purpose of prosecuting my voyage from thence to Egypt without delay.

To remove all possible doubt from the minds of the Government as to my intention of wishing to evade its decision, I am desirous that the reasons of my visiting Bengal should be stated on the face of my passport for that purpose, and am prepared to offer all the security that can be required, from respectable persons here, for my reporting myself to the proper officers on my arrival in Bengal.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Bombay, June 6. 1815.

To Mr. Buckingham.

Judicial Department.

SIR, — I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 6th instant, and to inform you that the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, being under the necessity of enforcing the orders of the Honourable Court of Directors, for your return to England, cannot allow you the permission you have solicited to proceed to Egypt by way of Bengal.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F. WARDEN,

Chief Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, June 12. 1815.

The horrors of "a charter-party passage" as a convict,—the scorn of the men and the contempt of the officers in whatever ship I might be transported,—filled me with disgust and indignation; and every means were thought of to elude the degradation if possible. A favourable opportunity offered, and was gladly embraced. A new line-of-battle ship, the *Wellesley*, of seventy-four guns, built at Bombay for the British navy, was fitting in the harbour for her voyage to England. From the scarcity of naval officers then in port, her commander was selected from the lieutenants of another ship, and being young and inexperienced for such a charge, he wanted the aid of a sailing-master, who should be a thoroughly practical navigator, as well as a seaman, for this duty. My services were offered, and, after a long conference and examination, were accepted. I obtained the consent of the Governor to fill this post instead of going home as "a charter-party passenger" in an Indiaman, and was thus relieved of all apprehension on that score. I therefore went on board, received my appointment, and entered on my duty to complete the fitting out of the ship for sea,—when, in a few days after, we heard that a Company's cruiser had been suddenly ordered to get ready for a voyage to the Red Sea with despatches for the Government. This furnished

another hope of being allowed to go by her to Egypt, where all my prospects lay, instead of to England: and I accordingly made personal application to the Chief Secretary, Mr. Warden (whose kindness to me throughout the whole of this harassing period was beyond all praise), and he promised to recommend the Governor to allow me to go by that ship, the *Prince of Wales*, and let me know the result, which the following notes will explain.

To Sir Evan Nepean, Bart.

My dear Sir Evan, — As the *Prince of Wales* is proceeding to Mocha, I conclude there can be no objection to Mr. Buckingham being allowed to return to Egypt. He has concerns to settle there, and is desirous of returning thence, as you have not allowed him to go *viâ* Bengal.

Yours, faithfully,

F. Warden.

Bombay, June 19. 1815.

Sir Evan Nepean's Reply.

Dear Warden, — I can have no objection to Mr. Buckingham's returning to England by the way of Mocha. He came hither, I understand, by that route.

But I have an objection to the allowing him to go to

Bengal, or to any other part of India; having determined to discourage all attempts which may be made by persons to settle in India without the license of the Company.

To the individual himself I have not the slightest degree of objection. On the contrary, he appeared to be a sensible, intelligent man, and I shall by no means be sorry to see him return with the Company's license, believing, as I do, that he would be of use to the mercantile interests, in opening the trade of the Red Sea.

Yours, &c.

E. NEPEAN.

Here, then, was an example of a person admitted by the Governor himself to be not only innocent of any offence, but honourably and usefully employed, about to be sent back to England as a prisoner or convict, in "a charter-party passage," with all its inconveniences, and only escaping this fate by a double accident of a new line-of-battle ship wanting a sailing-master to navigate her to England, and a Company's cruiser ordered off to the Red Sea with despatches. If either of these accidents had not occurred, I could not have escaped the infliction of a severe punishment, without trial, or the protection of any court of law against the arbitrary decree of a Governor bound down by *private instructions* from the India Directors at home, to exclude with the utmost rigour all British-born subjects from their dominions, as

dangerous to the exclusive monopoly which the Legislature so unwisely entrusted to their hands; though in the *public* Act of that Legislature express provision had been made for special cases like my own. It is in this way that the intentions of the Legislature are often defeated by *private* instructions to those who have to carry them into effect.

A striking illustration of the severity with which these restrictions were enforced, will be found in the following fact. In the course of the friendly correspondence which passed between Mr. William Erskine of Bombay, and the Honourable Montstuart Elphinstone, then Political Resident or Ambassador at the Court of Poonah, the former had mentioned something of my history and travels, which induced Mr. Elphinstone to express a wish that I should pay him a visit at Poonah; but though no man in India had a higher reputation than Mr. Elphinstone, and though it was impossible to imagine any public inconvenience as likely to arise from my paying him such a visit, the fact of my being without the Company's license rendered it impossible for me to obtain permission of the Governor of Bombay to go there.

The immediate pecuniary loss to me, by this removal from my command of the *Humayoon Shah*, and the expense and loss of time which my return to

Egypt would involve, was in itself very considerable; but it was trifling compared with the prospective loss, as the individual who succeeded me in the command, Captain Richardson, made, during my absence in Egypt and Asia, three successful voyages between Bombay and Canton, by which he realised a for une of more than 30,000*l.*: a fact first communicated to me on my return to Bombay from Egypt in 1816, and subsequently confirmed to me by his own lips in London.

This, then, was a third occasion on which I was subjected to heavy pecuniary losses, without any fault of mine, but by the conduct of others as described.

CHAP. XXI.

Voyage from Bombay to Suez by the Red Sea.— Agreeable and accomplished companion, Mr. Babington. — Preparations for sea, and farewell visits. — Liberality of my friends Mr. Erskine and Wedderburn.—Lines on leaving Bombay in the *Prince of Wales*, cruiser. — Southern passage beyond the Equator.—Heavy gales.—Island of Diego Garcia.—Approach to the African coast.—Extract from the Manuscript Journal of our voyage. — Mons Felix, an error for the Mountain of the Elephant. — Illustrations of Agatharchides and Ovid.— Halcyons.—Arrival and stay at Mocha, and thence to Jedda. Peculiarities of the Red Sea—its crystal clearness.—Beauty of the Coral formations on the reefs.—Difficulties and facilities of its navigation.—Transformation of shoals to habitable islands.—Anomalies in the tides of the Red Sea.—Lines to the air of "Montalambert in a Calm."

THIS Chapter ought to form a volume of itself, as embracing the whole of my return voyage from Bombay to Suez by the Red Sea, and extending from the 27th of June to the 20th of November 1815,—a period of five months, almost every day of which was marked by some interesting incident, or the acquisition of some new hydrographical information. The Manuscript Journal of it, which has never been published, is still in my possession, and occupies more than 500

closely written large folio pages, equal to about 1000 pages of printed matter of the size of the present work, and this is but one of twenty-eight such volumes, in which my Travels in the Eastern and Western World have been recorded. The hitherto unpublished portions of these may yet perhaps see the light, if I am spared to live, or if, when I am no more, my children should be disposed to give them publicity. But for the present at least, the merest outline of my return voyage from India to Egypt must suffice.

Mr. Benjamin Babington, who intended going to England for the benefit of his health, had become so much interested in the descriptions I had given him of Egypt and the Overland route, then scarcely at all traversed by Europeans, that he expressed a strong desire to accompany me on this voyage, a proposition I received with great delight, as nothing could be more acceptable than the companionship of so agreeable and accomplished a friend.

In making a round of farewell visits previous to my embarkation, I met everywhere the most cordial assurances of deep regret at my banishment, with earnest wishes for my speedy and triumphant return. I received, also, substantial aid in the supply of many comforts and even luxuries for the voyage, from my

friends Mr. Erskine and Wedderburn, with a credit in money to meet any pressing wants, relying entirely on my honour as the only security I could offer them for repayment.

On the 27th of June, therefore, we embarked in the Company's cruiser, the *Prince of Wales*, commanded by Captain Maillard, with four other English officers of the Bombay Marine, an armament of fourteen guns, and a mixed crew of English, Portuguese, and Indian Lascars; and the wind being very light, our progress out of the harbour was remarkably slow, which gave me time to write, and send on shore by the pilot, the following Farewell to my Indian friends:—

FAREWELL TO FRIENDS IN INDIA.

Fair India! while slowly thy shores are receding,
And the trace of thy mountains grows dim to the view,
Some cheering presentiment whispers I'm bidding
Thy long-toiled-for port but a transient adieu.
That those ever-green bowers where at evening I've strayed,
With the few who could feel both my pleasures and pain,
Where friendships were vowed, and where pledges were made,
Will soon bear the print of my footsteps again.

O! Fate! in uncertainty's dark womb concealing
The events of the future, in ignorance blest,
Still prolong the delusion, nor blast by revealing
The shadow of hope that clings close to my breast;
Tho' faintly it glimmers, I 'll cherish it there
Till possession its embers expand into flame,
Till again I embrace the few friends that are dear,
Yes! dearer than riches, than power, or fame!

See the crest-fallen signal, its folds scarcely waving,
And the low drooping sails hanging idly unfurl'd;
Like sorrow's sad calm o'er my bosom, while leaving
Thy shores — tho' for Egypt, old queen of the world.
But if to the land of my fathers I haste,
The breath of whose hills my young infancy drew,
Oh! there will await me the welcome embrace
Of those who have loved me still dearer than you.

And if there, while the records of absence unfolding
To hearts that will make all my sorrows their own,
Remembrance should mingle delight in beholding
The scenes and the circles where pleasures were known:
Then, oft in response to the half-suppressed sigh,
Warmly breathed o'er the tale of fair friendship's sweet lore,
Sensibility's tribute, from sympathy's eye,
Will steal to those few left on India's far shore.

Then believe me, ye few! that wherever I'm straying,
To the east or the west, at the line, or the pole,
The magic of memory, those scenes still portraying,
Will stamp them indelibly firm on my soul.
Yes! tho' driven from fortune, tho' exiled from friends,
My heart bids defiance to tyranny's chain;
And where'er my dark course through this banishment bends,
It will bound with the hope of our meeting again.

It being now the season of the south-west monsoon, we had to make what is called the southern passage, going down the coast of Malabar, passing Ceylon, crossing the equator, and extending our track as far as the eighth degree of southern latitude, going round the island of Diego Garcia, where we met the south-east trade-wind, and by that means ran down our westing to the 48th degree of east longitude, when we made the east coast of Africa, and soon after rounded Cape Guardafui, of which we took many drawings from different points of view, passing therefore, between it and the island of Socotra to the eastward, this cape forming the north-eastern extremity of Africa, in the Indian Ocean, and commencing the entrance to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb and the Red Sea.

In our passage southward from Bombay, we en-

countered some of the tremendous squalls and heavy gales which characterise the south-west monsoon, being frequently obliged to take in every stitch of canvas and let the ship drive before the wind, while pitch darkness and the lurid glare of almost incessant lightning succeeded each other at intervals of a few minutes apart only, and the rain fell in torrents so as to flood the decks before it could find an outlet through the ports and scupper-holes into the sea.

In the south-east trades we had fine steady weather, with strong breezes, which made our passage more agreeable by the contrast; and we enjoyed alternately the pleasures of reading, writing, music, and conversation from daylight till ten at night, with short intervals of exercise on deck between our meals.

The great interest of the voyage began, however, on our rounding Cape Guardafui, as here we had the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea for the ancient, and Horsburgh's East India Directory for the modern, hydrography of the African coast; so that every hour was fully employed in examining, comparing, and contrasting the two, and bringing both to the test of actual observation with the originals before our eyes. Mr. Babington entered with great zest into the investigation with myself, and our co-operative labours

were mutually agreeable. We passed a remarkable White Island, so called, on the coast of Adel, in about lat. 11° 10′ N., long. 48° E., covered with what we now think probable would be found to be guano, or the deposit of sea-birds' dung, which has been so recently employed in agriculture, and is brought extensively from islands in the Pacific belonging to Peru.

A single extract from the Journal of one of our days' observations in this part of the voyage will explain, perhaps better than a mere description of it, the kind of investigations which this almost unknown and rarely visited coast opened up to our inquiry, and the manner in which these were pursued.

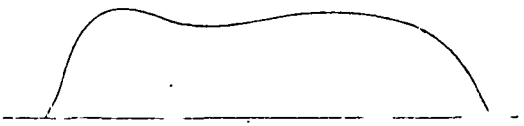
"*August* 9.—Coast of Adel, Eastern Africa. At daybreak it was extremely cloudy, and the sun was not visible through the thick mist that overspread the sky till an hour after its rising. We were now about nine miles from the shore, with no soundings at eighty fathoms; and though it had been nearly calm during all the night, we had been carried, by a westerly current, about six leagues since the last sunset.

"At noon we observed in latitude 12° N., and had 'Gebel Feel,' or Mount Elephant, which these

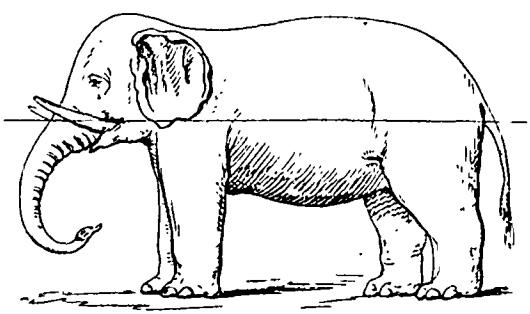
Arabic words imply, to bear S.E. ¼ E. eleven or twelve miles, with no soundings at one hundred fathoms. The latitude of Gebel Feel is therefore 11° 53′ N., or seven miles to the southward of the place assigned to it by Horsburgh.

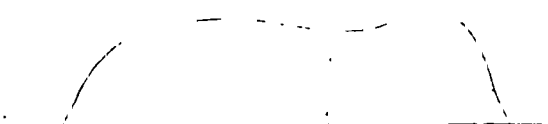
"This is the Mons Felix of the Periplus, and it furnishes a striking instance of the manner in which names are transferred from one language to another by resemblance of sound, rather than coincidence of meaning. Supposing the word Feel to be a proper name, as Atlas or Etna, the author of the Periplus would understand Gebel Feel to mean simply Mount Feel; and the transition from this to Mount Felix would be easy and poetical, making it at once the Happy Mountain, as, though nearer to Africa, it was also opposite to the southern coast of Sabea, the Arabia Felix, or Happy Arabia of the ancients. But the origin of the name was undoubtedly the form of the mountain itself, which strikingly resembles the upper portion of the elephant, an animal so familiar to Africans, Arabians, and Indians, as to make them readily cognisant of such resemblance.

"This will be sufficiently evident from a comparison of the outline views here represented, with a complete picture of the elephant itself, in the next page.



View of Gebel Feel, bearing West half South.





View of Gebel Feel, bearing East half South.

It will be seen that the upper portion of the figure of the elephant, above the dividing line, corresponds

exactly with the outline of the mountain, which, seen either from the east or the west, requires only the addition of the lower part of the animal to make the figure of the elephant complete.

"The Arabic name جبل فيل Gebel Feel, or Mount Elephant, by which it is known by the native navigators along this coast, should in future, therefore, be substituted for the Mons Felix of the Periplus, under which name it still appears in many of the charts. Like the Rock of Gibraltar, it is connected with the main land by a low sandy isthmus, which is not visible at a distance of eight or nine miles; so that, like the Rock, it appears at first to be an island with a passage between it and the continent, till a nearer approach makes the low isthmus visible.

"No new circumstances caught our observation during the day, but we witnessed a repetition of all those peculiarities already remarked, with regard to the pale rising of the sun, which cast no shadow till well above the horizon, the turbid state of the water, when viewed from alongside, looking down perpendicularly into its depths, by which it seemed literally filled with marine polypi, sea-weed, and jelly-like creatures of every size, colour, and form, and the glassy whiteness of the surface when viewed horizontally or along its level during a calm.

"It is singular enough that some of the observations of Agatharchides, on this region, off the coast of Sabea, which have been ranked among the marvellous, should be confirmed by actual observation so many centuries afterwards; which has been the case also with Herodotus, and some others of the ancient writers, respecting whose statements we have been incredulous, because we were less accurately informed as to the countries they described than themselves. Agatharchides, for instance, remarks that, as soon as you are past Sabea, the sea appears white like a river; that the Fortunate Islands skirt the coasts; that the flocks and herds are all white, and the females are without horns; that there is little or no twilight in the morning; that the sun often rises and sets like a column rather than a disk; and that no shadow is cast by it till it is an hour above the horizon.

"Now, we had ourselves observed, before we read this passage, the remarkable whiteness of the sea, when seen along its surface, as well as the shortness of the twilight, and the absence of all shadow till the sun was well above the horizon; and had subsequently seen some of the sheep of the coast, which were white over all the body, being covered with a short hair instead of wool, and having small black heads, without horns.

"Throughout the whole of the morning, which had been hazy at sunrise as usual, the sea appeared to be covered with various animal substances like the masses which obstructed our passage in the Mediterranean, described in a former chapter (Vol. ii. p. 35.), and which was then ascertained to be formed of drowned locusts, so that the surface seemed proof against any agitation by the wind, notwithstanding that all our sails, from the courses to the royals, were well filled, and the ship made from four to five knots through the water. Not a catspaw of ripple could be anywhere seen on the surface; even the parting of the waters by the bow produced no foam, as the fluid passed outward right and left, with the smoothness of oil; and the very track of the ship astern scarcely left any trace behind it.

"During the remarkable calm below, and breeze above, we passed large flocks of birds, sitting in squadrons on the surface of the sea, to the extent of more than a hundred in a party, like the fabled halcyons of antiquity as described by Ovid:—

"'A bird new made, about the banks she plies
Not far from shore, and short excursions tries,
Nor seeks in air her humble flight to raise,
Content to skim the urface of the seas.'

These birds were small in size, not much larger than swallows, generally black, with a few white feathers near the tail. When we passed very near them they rose from the water, hovered over the spot for a few seconds, and then removed a little farther off, without ascending from the water in any instance more than two or three feet. Unlike the birds called by seamen 'Mother Carey's chickens,' which revel in the tempest, and hover round a ship's wake in the heaviest storms, just wetting their feet in the foam of the crested wave, but rarely resting on its surface, as is familiar to all old navigators, these halcyons seemed to delight in the stillness of the calm; and thus far corresponded with the description of the Roman poet in his elegant fable of Ceÿx and Alcyoné:—

"'The gods their shapes to winter birds translate,
But both obnoxious to their former fate,
Their conjugal affection still is tried,
And still the mournful race is multiplied;
They bill, they tread, Alcyoné compressed,
Seven days sits brooding on her floating nest,
A wintry queen! her sire at length is kind,
Calms every storm, and hushes every wind;
Prepares his empire for his daughter's ease,
And for his hatching nephews smooths the seas.'

"Among the numerous other birds seen by us

during the day, we noticed also the long-necked cormorant,—

> " 'That sable bird that cuts the briny flood
> With slender legs, and once of royal blood.'

As far as we had an opportunity of observing its habits, they corresponded as faithfully with those ascribed to the metamorphosed Esacus, as the habits of the smaller birds resembled those attributed to Alcyoné after his transformation: and both induced us to believe that each of these feathered races was well known to the Augustan bard, who had probably seen them and noted their peculiarities during his exile at Tomas, on the Euxine Sea, as his 'Metamorphoses' are said not to have been finished when the emperor sent him into banishment from Rome. In his description of the despair of Esacus, after Alexothoe's death, and his efforts at self-destruction even after his transformation, we could perceive many traits of resemblance in the picture of the cormorant's habits, and easily conceive such a mythological application of them as Ovid has given in his description."

Thus far the extracts from the Manuscript Journal,—to show that our hydrographical researches were pleasantly varied with other topics of a lighter and

more agreeable nature. But I must refrain from transcribing more, and proceed with the outline narrative of the remainder of our voyage.

We passed through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb by the outer and broader channel near the Abyssinian coast, and anchored at Mocha on the 18th of August, —having been nearly two months in making the long round of the southern passage, with its variety of heavy gales and tedious calms.

Mr. Forbes, with all his establishment, having left Mocha for Bombay, we found the British Residency without occupants,—but we were permitted to take up our quarters there during our intended stay. We paid a visit to the Dola or governor,—saw every thing worth notice in the town and neighbourhood, and obtained much useful information respecting the trade with Abyssinia; — but as the Company's cruiser, in which we came from Bombay, finished her voyage here and returned to India, our only course was to procure a passage in some coasting vessel of the Arabs for the remainder of our voyage to Suez. After a long delay we succeeded in finding a boat going to Jedda, and in her we embarked, leaving Mocha on the 3rd of September.

I had provided myself with every requisite for making accurate observations on our route, including

a good sextant for astronomical purposes, a mariner's compass, a log reel and lines, and several sounding leads for ascertaining the depths of water as required. Our equipment in other respects was of the humblest kind,—a supply of rice and ghee, or clarified butter, —a goat for milk,—a few sheep for fresh meat, fowls, eggs, coffee, and tea; these, with a few plain cooking utensils, and a mattress and bedding for each, constituted our whole stock. We had, however, excellent health, buoyant spirits, a fondness for travel and adventure, a most cordial and friendly attachment to each other, similarity of tastes and sentiments, and a mutual determination to do everything in our power to make the voyage agreeable.

In the course of our progress we touched at almost every port in Arabia between Mocha and Suez, and made some stay at the principal ones, such as Hodeida, Loheia, the Island of Camaran, Gonfudda and Jedda, the port of Mecca, where we arrived on the 29th of September. From hence we had to take another native boat, in which we went to Yambo, the port of Medina, and thence onward to Suez, where we arrived on the 10th of November, nearly five months after quitting Bombay.

Independently of our long voyage by the round-about route of the southern passage from Bombay

to eight degrees south of the equator — a distance of more than 1500 miles, and 1500 more to regain our northern latitude — owing to the south-west monsoon, which makes a direct passage across from Bombay to the Red Sea impossible for a sailing ship,—all the navigation in native boats was of the slowest kind; sailing only by day, when the wind was fair, lying at anchor when it was foul, and invariably stopping, whether in port or not, from sunset to sunrise. It had, however, this advantage, for me at least, that by this means we kept always close to the shore, which, for hydrographical purposes is most essential, — that we anchored in every harbour on our way, and that this enabled me to make plans of all the good anchorages, and take copious sets of bearings and distances of all the projecting points, as well as soundings in every direction by the lead.

In the lower part of the Red Sea we had the opportunity of correcting many gross errors of Bruce's chart, and indeed to satisfy ourselves completely that he had never been south of Jedda; but that his pretended voyage from thence to the Indian Ocean, was a pure fiction, as it was impossible for any one that had really performed that voyage to make such a series of misrepresentations of the coast as he has done. In the upper part of the Red Sea,

which he had really visited and examined with great care, his observations were most accurate; and here we had the opportunity of discovering that the strictures of Lord Valentia and Mr. Salt on Bruce's track were full of errors; as the very portions of his work with which they most found fault, we ascertained to be correct, and proved his critics to have been guilty of the grossest injustice towards him.

I must mention two or three remarkable peculiarities of the Red Sea before I close this chapter. Along the whole extent of the Arabian coast, and to some degree also in the Abyssinian, a continuous chain of coral reef and rocks runs parallel to the coast, at a distance of from ten to twenty miles from the shore. There is thus a broad central passage of clear deep water, in the centre, between these two lines of reef; and two narrower passages, one on each coast between the reef and the Arabian or Abyssinian shore respectively. The central passage is the one frequented by large vessels, and the two minor ones by the native coasters; and the navigation is perfectly safe in either, if a good look-out be kept; for, owing to the entire absence of any large rivers to discharge their mud into the sea, as the Euphrates in the Persian Gulf, and the Ganges in the Bay of Bengal, the water in the Red Sea is

everywhere of the most crystal purity; so that coral banks can be seen from the mast-head, and even from the forecastle, long before the ship approaches them, many having ten fathoms, or sixty feet water over them, and yet being perfectly visible from the surface. These coral banks are remarkable for their beauty, combining, as they do, coralline formations of every shape and every hue; from solid masses like trunks and branches of trees, to the varieties of Venus's Fan, of brain coral, and ramifications of delicate fibre, exhibiting the most vivid tints of purple, scarlet, yellow, green, and white. On wrenching any portion of these from the reef or shoal, you can see that the whole mass is alive with moving animalculæ, hardly distinguishable without a magnifying glass; each particular formation having, it is probable, a different creature for its architect. When the piece is deposited on deck, in a few days the creatures die, and then the mass emits a putrid animal smell. This can only be cured by repeated buckets of water thrown on the mass every hour in the day, by which the dead bodies are at length all washed out of the inner crevices. But this very process leads to the complete extinction of all the vivid colours, by the bleaching which the mass undergoes through the constant succession of water and sun, till the whole

becomes a dead cream-colour, such as we see the specimens of coralline in public museums, which, when they were under water and full of life, were as brilliant in colour as any flower garden.

The greatest care required in the navigation of the Red Sea is when passing from the inner to the outer channels, or *vice versâ;* for this is only to be done safely through certain "gates," as they are called, or openings in different parts of the reef; and as these are often tortuous and winding, it is only the local experience of fishermen and pilots that can be safely relied on to take a vessel of any large size through. In the Indian expedition under Sir Home Popham, which was sent to the relief of the British in Egypt during Napoleon's invasion of that country, a vast number of transports were wrecked for want of this precaution. But now that steamships are chiefly employed, the navigation is as safe and easy as the Mediterranean; as these, by pursuing a straight course up or down the middle channel, and having no necessity to tack or steer from side to side, which sailing vessels must do in a contrary wind, they are entirely free from the danger to which these transports were exposed.

The coralline formations can be nowhere seen to greater perfection perhaps than in this sea, because

of the extreme transparency of the water. There are hundreds of islands now in course of formation, in the Pacific especially, by these subtile marine architects, who have raised miles of reef around the crests of extinct marine volcanoes in the Pacific groups, forming central harbours or lagoons surrounded by circular rings of land, and the same process gave rise to the keys of the Bahamas and Bermuda in the Atlantic. The Island of Diego Garcia was a mere reef just even with the water's edge, when Captain Horsburgh was first wrecked on it in 1786, and it has now an elevation of many feet above the surface, with palm groves, and a good harbour; the group of the Sychelles in the Indian Ocean was formed in the same manner; and the long line of the Maldive and Laccadive Islands, off the coast of Malabar, which now produce millions of cocoa nuts every year, giving food, oil, and rope from their substance, and sustaining by commerce some thousands of population, were all the work of the little coral insect, in the same wonderful process of submarine architecture.

The manner in which the reefs rise to the dignity of habitable islands appears to be this. The minute and invisible builders progressively raise their structure from a limestone basis at the bottom of the sea till it reaches the surface. The winds and waves

then commence their work of destruction, and break and scatter the delicate fabric, spreading its debris over the whole surface till it forms a bank. Aquatic birds next frequent it, and there depositing their dung, increase the mass, and form the substructure of its future fertility. Floating substances are driven against it, such as wood, branches of trees, sea-weed, dead fish, dead birds, &c., and these all tend to give the mass solidity and elevation. Winged seeds, which are known to be carried hundreds of miles across the sea, follow next in order; these are deposited, and vegetation ensues. Vegetation invites more birds; and their nests, eggs, and young, all help, when in the periods of their decay, to form fertile mould; and so the process goes on increasing, till groves of palm and other trees are formed. Lastly, fresh water is found on digging certain depths; ships now anchor there for wood and water; pigs, sheep, and poultry are either purposely left, or accidentally escape, and take up their abode there; these increase in numbers; and now all the elements of shelter, soil, wood, water, animals, birds, and fishes for food invite settlers of the human race, who "increase and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it," and exercise that "dominion over the beasts of the field,

and the fowls of the air," which was given to man as his prerogative by his Divine Maker.

Another peculiarity of the Red Sea,—and one which I have never yet met with any navigator or astronomer who could readily account for—is this: that while at its northern extremity of Suez, and its southern extremity at Bab-el-Mandeb, there is a rise and fall of at least six feet perpendicular in the ebb and flow of the tides, there is no perceptible rise or fall whatever at Jedda and all over the central and broadest part of the Sea; so that travellers passing from the Eastern head of the Mediterranean, where there are no tides, are struck with their existence at the head of the Red Sea; and voyagers from Jedda and other central ports, going to either of the extremities, are equally impressed with what to them is a phenomenon of an extraordinary kind. There are anomalies in the state of the tides throughout the globe, not to be explained by the received Newtonian theory, and this is one of them.

As we approached towards Suez we were becalmed off the port of Tor, in the immediate vicinity of Mounts Horeb and Sinai; and having enjoyed during a portion of the evening the pleasures of music, among which the plaintive and beautiful air of Montalambert formed a prominent feature—I penned the follow-

ing stanzas adapted to that air, and embodying the sentiments and feelings suggested by its soothing strain, as heard during the silent calm that prevailed.

AIR—MONTALAMBERT.

I.

When the Ocean's storms are done,
And all around is peaceful calm,
As evening's blush, at setting sun,
Sheds o'er the scene a holier balm,
The soul instinctive turns to heaven,
Filled with pure Devotion's glow,
And humbly hopes its sins forgiven
Above this world of doubt and woe.

II.

When the milder twilight dies,
And every billow sinks to rest,
As stars begin to light the skies,
And day sinks deeper in the west,
Then the heart will Homeward turn,
To distant, dear, and long-loved Friends,
And light with fires that holy urn
Whose incense pure to heaven ascends.

III.

When at midnight's hallowed noon
The rich cærulean vault above
Yields to the bright meridian moon
Her tranquil reign o'er night and love ;

Bosoms then with fervour glowing
Pour their silent plaint along,
Till through every pulse are flowing
Passion, music, sigh, and song.

IV.

These my pensive breast inspiring,
As o'er the glassy deep we steer,
When, on deck, at eve retiring,
Montalambert's strains I hear ;
Thus can Music's magic power
Lift the soul to realms above,
And mingle, in one silent hour,
Devotion, Friendship, Home, and Love.

CHAP. XXII.

Arrival at Suez, and journey across the Desert. — Short stay at Cairo. — Meet Mr. Burckhardt there. — Meet also Signor Belzoni, on his way to India. — Dissuade him from the attempt, for reasons assigned. — His subsequent employment and travels in Egypt. — Hasten to Alexandria to see the Pasha there. — Mr. Benjamin Babington remains at Cairo. — Tribute to the character of my friend and companion. — Explanation to the Pasha, of want of confidence in India. — Recommend him to grant a Convention of Commerce. — Liberal concession made by the Convention. — Contrast of its terms with former exactions. — Undertake to be the bearer of it to India. — Necessity for making this journey overland. — Preparations to traverse Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Persia. — Reasons for adopting the Oriental costume. — Appointed as Envoy of the Pasha to India. — Safety of being a Turk. — Danger of being an Englishman.

We reached Suez on the 10th of November, and remained there three days to prepare for our Desert journey to Cairo. This was performed on camels, with a Bedouin guide, sleeping two nights on the way — one in the middle of the Desert, and one on the confines of Egypt — but without meeting with any accident or remarkable occurrence.

At Cairo we remained a short time, and had the pleasure to meet there Sheikh Ibrahim, Mr. Burck-

hardt, who had not yet set out on his African journey. He passed several hours with us, expressed great interest in our voyage, and renewed his assurances of friendship. This was the last occasion of my meeting him, as he subsequently died at Cairo, and was interred there as a Mohammedan, with all the usual rites and ceremonies of the Moslem faith: never having entered at all on the great African journey, for which he had been six or seven years in training and preparation.

We met here also, for the first time, Signor Belzoni, who had been employed by the Pasha as a hydraulic engineer, for the management of the waterworks and irrigation of his gardens at Shoobrah, in the Delta. We learnt from Signor Belzoni, that he was a native of Padua, and being gifted with almost superhuman strength, which his fine athletic figure and great height seemed to indicate, as well as with great flexibility of limb and finger, improved by constant exercise, he had exhibited his powers as an athlete and juggler in his own country and Malta, and from thence had visited England, where he made a tour through all the provinces, exhibiting feats of strength and dexterity, under the name of the Patagonian Samson, till he had exhausted public curiosity, and had now come out to Egypt, with a view

to visit India, for a similar purpose. Both Mr. Babington and I did our best to persuade him against incurring such a risk of loss—first, as he had no license to visit India, for the want of which I had been banished from the country, and next, because the athletæ and jugglers of India form a very low and degraded caste, and would cause his occupation to shut him out from all European society. It appears that he was impressed with this advice, as he subsequently relinquished the intention, was afterwards employed by Mr. Salt and Mr. Bankes to bring down some of the fragments of ancient monuments from Upper Egypt, and then obtained deserved celebrity as an enterprising and successful traveller, by opening one of the great Pyramids of Memphis, penetrating into several of the unopened tombs of the kings at Thebes, and publishing a faithful and interesting account of his researches in Egypt; while Mrs. Belzoni, his English wife, added her contribution in an account of the state of female society in the East, to which she had been freely admitted.

As on inquiry it was ascertained that Colonel Missett and all the British Embassy, as well as Mohammed Ali Pasha, were now at Alexandria, it became my duty to hasten there with as little delay as possible, to give them an account of my Indian

voyage and its results. As my friend Mr. Babington wished, however, to see something more of Egypt before he quitted it, he remained at Cairo for this purpose; and Mr. Burckhardt promised to render him all the aid and counsel he might require.

In parting with the companion of my way thus far, I felt as if I were separated from a brother. Nothing could exceed the kindness, cheerfulness, intelligence, courtesy, and every other good quality that a traveller could possess, which was manifested under the most unfavourable circumstances by my excellent friend; nothing could be more completely harmonious than our views and wishes throughout all the voyage; and as that had been mutually agreeable to both, so our parting was mutually painful. As the best service he could perform for me after our separation, he promised faithfully, on his reaching England, to represent my case to the India Directors, with whom he was acquainted, so as to obtain for me the license of the East India Company to reside in their territories, which he would forward to me, wherever I might then be. In this he succeeded, as will be shown in a future portion of this narrative; and I have ever since had the happiness to enjoy the most cordial intercourse with my friend, of now nearly forty years' standing, in the person of Dr.

Benjamin Babington, of London, a worthy successor of his venerable father, an ornament to his profession, and beloved and esteemed by all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance.

On my reaching Alexandria, I repaired to the British Residency, and was there as cordially received as ever by Colonel Missett and his suite. I had interviews also with the British Consul, Mr. Lee, and with Mohammed Ali Pasha; to all of whom I explained that the only obstacle in the way of a revival of the trade between Egypt and India; was the want of some official Convention which should guarantee to the merchants there protection for their goods across the Desert, light duties, instead of the heavy ones now exacted, and a ratification of such Convention by the reciprocal signatures of the Pasha, the British Consul, and myself.

This reasonable proposal was at once acceded to by the Pasha, who authorised such a Convention to be prepared: and after various interviews and discussions on the several clauses of the same, it was finally adopted in the following form: the original of which, in Turkish and French, is still in my possession; for though Arabic is the current language spoken in Egypt, Turkish is the language of the Government, and used in all their public documents.

Convention between His Highness Mohammed Ali Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, on the one part, and Messrs. Peter Lee and James Silk Buckingham on the other part.

The Pasha of Egypt, animated by a desire to establish friendly commercial relations with the East Indies, solemnly promises to grant and maintain the following conditions. And, on the other hand, Mr. Peter Lee, of the mercantile house of Briggs and Co., of Alexandria, and Mr. James Silk Buckingham, agent for the commerce of India at Suez, equally animated by the same sentiments, promise to conform to them.

I. Every merchant vessel coming from India to the address of the merchants interested in the present Convention shall have full liberty to enter into the port of Suez, and every other harbour in the Red Sea which belongs to the Pasha of Egypt, and every assistance and protection required shall be granted to them there.

II. The Pasha engages to take under his protection, from the moment of their being landed, all the merchandise which may arrive at Suez; and to guarantee the security of the same in the caravans by which it may be transported across the Desert to Cairo. The consignees of such merchandise at Cairo are to pay an ad valorem duty of nine per cent., to include the custom-house dues, the cost of escort, and insurance against loss, in consideration of the solemn promise of his Highness the Pasha, that if the caravan shall happen to be attacked and plundered, or any of the goods sent by it be missing, he will indemnify the owners to the full amount of the loss they may have sustained.

III. If the consignees of the goods shall desire to export any portion of their merchandise from the ports of Alexandria or Damietta to any of the markets of Europe or of Turkey, it is agreed that no duties shall be levied on the same at either of the ports named. And any goods coming to them from Europe, which shall have paid an import duty at either of the ports of Alexandria or Damietta, shall be exempt from further import, to be certified by the usual passports and permits. But if such goods are required to be transported across the Desert to Suez for exportation to India, they shall enjoy all the protection and guarantee of the Pasha across the Desert, as specified in Art. II., on the payment of six per cent. only.

IV. His Highness engages to furnish, with the least possible delay, the number of camels necessary for the transport of the merchandise from Suez to Cairo, or Cairo to Suez; and it is agreed that two Spanish dollars shall be paid for each camel load, to the owners of the animals, for their hire.

V. His Highness, in order to give to the commercial relations with India all the assurance of confidence which he desires to inspire in those who may enter into the same, promises and engages that if, unfortunately, any rupture should take place between the Governments of the Sublime Porte and that of England, he will make no change in the conditions of this Convention; and the merchants included in it shall be permitted to remain in the country in perfect security during a complete year. Within that period they shall have full liberty to dispose of their effects, to collect whatever may be due to them, and when the year shall have expired they shall be permitted freely to leave

the country with their families and property, without being troubled or vexed in any manner whatever. If, during the year allowed, there shall arrive any English ships from India at Suez, the commanders shall be permitted to land their cargoes and enjoy the same protection already agreed on. Provided always that the same indulgence shall be reciprocally observed in India towards the persons and property of His Highness the Pasha.

In faith of which we here annex our seals and signatures.

Done at Alexandria on the 8th of December A. D. 1815.

(Signed) P. Lee.
J. S. Buckingham.
Mohammed Ali Pasha.

In order to appreciate fully the liberal terms of this Convention, it should be mentioned, that previous to its stipulations, the import-duty on merchandise from India or England at Suez or Alexandria was ten per cent. ad valorem, independently of other heavy charges for local transit through the country, while all were exposed to the liability of plunder by the Arabs of the Desert and boatmen of the Nile, against the risk of which no insurance could be effected on any terms whatever. By this Convention, the import-duties were reduced to three per cent., the expenses of protection and transit three per cent., and the insurance against loss of any kind, by plunder or other-

wise, undertaken to be replaced to the full value by the Pasha, at three per cent. more, making the whole charge nine per cent., instead of at least eighteen or twenty, including all costs by the former custom. Added to this, the extreme liberality of his granting full protection to persons and property for an entire year after any declaration of war between England and Turkey, and then permitting all British subjects to retire from the country with their families and effects unmolested and secure, was an advantage never before conceded to the subjects of any nation by any Oriental Power.

All parties being satisfied with the liberal conditions of this Convention, the next step to be considered was, how it could be best recommended to the adoption of the British merchants in India; and the general opinion was, that I should be made the bearer of it, with full powers to enter into any contracts or engagements conformably to the conditions prescribed. As our voyages by the Red Sea, however, had been so long and tedious, and as the season for the southern passage had just terminated, and would require a long delay if we waited for its return, it was deemed best that I should make the journey to India overland, by way of Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia; and to this I readily consented.

A new outfit became indispensable for such a purpose; and while the despatches were preparing for India, I was occupied in effecting the necessary changes for my overland journey. To traverse all these regions, habited as a European, would have been sure to entail endless annoyances, as well as often great peril; the only way of avoiding which, would be to appear in all respects as much like a native of the countries to be traversed as possible; and the neglect of this precaution has often brought European travellers into troubles which might have been easily avoided. Even in civilised England, and courteous and polished France, it is found that Turks or Arabs passing through their cities and towns in the costume of their respective countries, are sure to attract crowds of idlers around their persons, while the very dogs of the country recognise them as strange beings, unusual in their appearance, and greet them with their barkings accordingly. If this happens in the well-informed countries of Europe, where people are not wholly strangers to foreign costume, as they see it on the stage, in masquerades, and in books of travels, how much more is this likely to be the case in Eastern countries, where the European dress is rarely seen, except upon the sea-coast, and where it marks the wearer not only as a stranger, but a *giour* or infidel, an unbeliever in the Koran of Mohammed, and there-

fore doubly obnoxious to all the zealous followers of the Prophet?

For these reasons I thought it wise to adopt the Turkish costume, as it is worn by the officers of the Government in Egypt; and having already a full grown beard, and a knowledge of the Arabic language, which is spoken all the way from Cairo to Bagdad; having also, by my previous journeys, acquired the habit of eating and drinking, sitting and walking, like the natives of the country, who have peculiarities in each, the very opposite of our European habits, I felt a confidence in undertaking the journey which, without such advantages and preparations, would have been wanting.

For the purpose of ensuring my favourable reception at Bombay, and protecting me even against a repetition of the arbitrary banishment already inflicted on me, the Pasha (who expressed the greatest surprise at what even *he* regarded as an act of tyranny, exceeded only by its folly, in thus treating an individual whose pursuits were admitted by the Governor himself as likely to be beneficial to the Indian community by reviving the trade with the Red Sea,) determined to clothe me with the authority of his Envoy, and furnished me, therefore, with a firman addressed to the Indian Government, authorising me, as his representative, to purchase ships, embark

cargoes, or execute any orders he might transmit to me for this purpose. I was of course too happy to be the bearer of such a protection as this would afford me, if only for the purpose of illustrating the absurdity of the system it was intended to counteract; as it would not only enable me to bid defiance to any decree of banishment issued by the Government, since they would not dare so to treat the Envoy of any foreign Power; but it would enable me constantly to say, to all who inquired on the subject, that though, if I had returned again simply as an English subject, without the India Company's license, I could be again summarily sent away; yet having now come in the character of a Turk, I was a free man, and could reside in India without a license as long as I pleased.

The narrative of all the personal incidents arising out of this Overland Journey, and my subsequent career in India itself, will form the subject of the future volumes, to follow this before the close of the present year, if I am spared to complete them.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

LONDON:
A. and G. A. SPOTTISWOODE,
New-street-Square.

00141044

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 27 February, 2016